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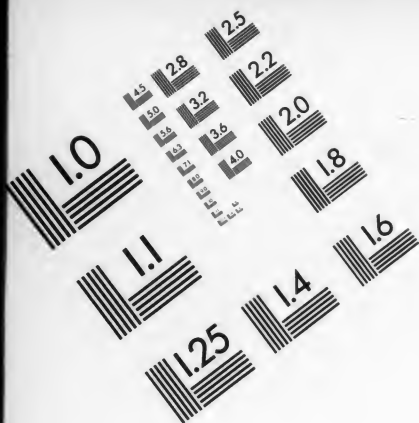
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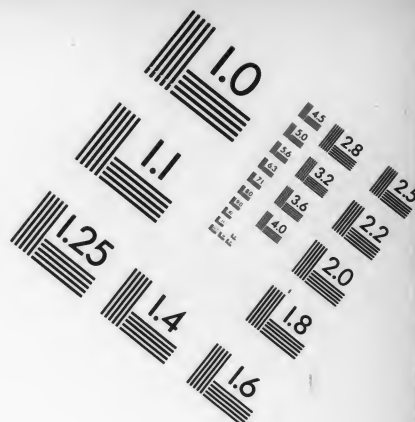
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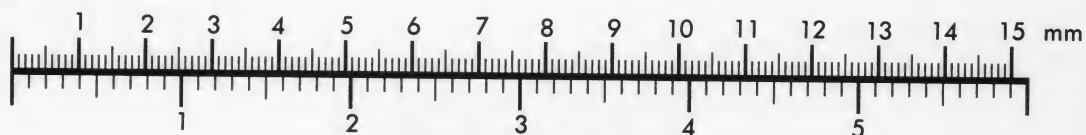
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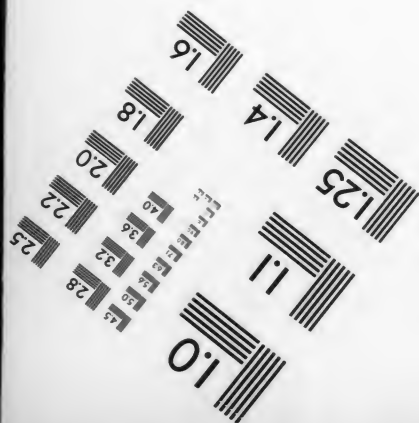
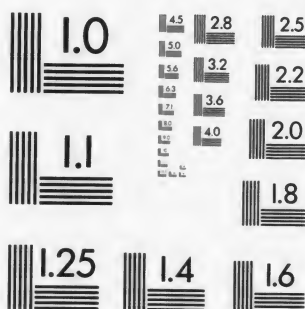
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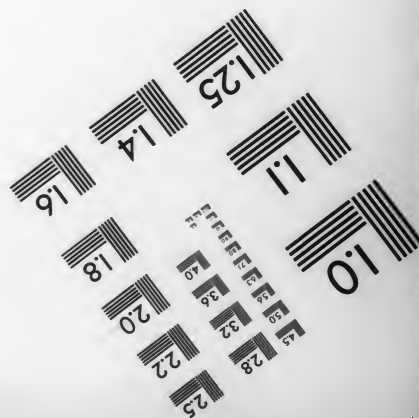
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EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY

JAMES JOHN GARTH WILKINSON

"What is this
'Gainst which I strive to shield the sight in vain,"
Cried I, "and which toward us moving seems?"
"Marvel not if the family of heaven,"
He answered, "yet with dazzling radiance dim
Thy sense. It is a messenger who comes,
Inviting man's ascent. Such sights ere long,
Not grievous, shall impart to thee delight,
As thy perception is by nature wrought
Up to their pitch."

Cary's Dante.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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TO

DR. P. E. SVEDBOM,

FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA,

LIBRARIAN TO THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF STOCKHOLM,

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED,

AS A SLIGHT BUT SINCERE TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP, GRATITUDE,

AND ESTEEM,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.



THE present sketch of Swedenborg's Life and Works is a new book to the public though an old one to its Author. Thirty-six years have elapsed since it was written. The first edition has worn out of print, and my Publisher surprises me by the request to look over its pages with a view to a reprint. I have made some corrections; but concluded on the whole to let the pages stand as they were first conceived. Were I writing it now it would be a different work, of graver aim; but its imperfection leans to the popular side; and it is in its interest with the general reader that its use may lie. I do not therefore disparage it, but bid it God-speed for whatever service it can render; knowing well that it consists of slender tracings of great footsteps.

Since my Sketch was written, abundant stores for a Biographical work on Swedenborg have been accumulated by the untiring labours of the Rev. Professor R. L. Tafel, and have been published by him in his three grand volumes of *Documents concerning Swedenborg*. These are an exhaustive documentary Biography. I have scarcely amplified my little work from this mine, but it has assisted me to accuracy in some details.

Besides this great work, the general public has been presented with an elaborate *Life of Swedenborg* by William White; in which the Author criticises Swedenborg, and his life, character, and opinions, with a trenchant pen. William White is a man of very unusual calibre,* and amply accomplished for what he means to carry out; and his powerful individuality enables him to plead its temperament very forcibly against some of Swedenborg's teachings, and to arraign them on peculiar grounds. This is fairly within the liberty of the age. A counter-statement to Mr. White's views and allegations may be found in Professor Tafel's *Documents*. Mr. White is not an opponent of Swedenborg, but a free lance in some alliance with him. He has with him a following of objectors who are not biographers, and whom he would probably disown. We meet them among our humane friends. They remark that Swedenborg had no inkling of the new questions of this age, which if he were specially illuminated he ought to have had. His *Conjugal Love* says nothing of the rights of woman. Though cognizant of sensual vice beyond any chief of a *bureau des mœurs*, he makes no prospectus for a social purity alliance. His doctrine of regeneration is absolutely silent on the rights of man. He lets the terrible wars of his time pass on without founding a peace society. He never denounces Negro slavery as an institution, though the Negro is more prominent in no works than in his.

* As witness his masterpiece, *The Story of a Great Delusion*, pp. 677, 1885: a History which Adam Smith might have written in our time.

He does not plead for, or foresee, the enfranchisement of the masses. He has no special leaning towards the poor as different from the rich, or as more spiritually worthy and innocent; no outward panacea against poverty; and no prophecy of state-socialism. These and other criticisms are natural to those who are busily confined in the leagues and caucuses of the day. They do not apply to him who had another rank and platform of incessant work assigned to him. They may remind the reader who does not object to smile, of Swift's criticism upon the Poet Homer; of whom that Sarkast says: "His failings are not less prominent in several parts of the Mechanics. For, having read his writings with the utmost application usual among modern wits, I could never yet discover the least direction about that useful instrument, a save-all; for want of which, if the moderns had not lent their assistance, we might yet have wandered in the dark. But I have still behind a fault far more notorious to tax this Author with; I mean, his gross ignorance in the common laws of this realm, and in the doctrine as well as discipline of the Church of England." This is a bag of banter into which a good deal of criticism on the Bible and on Swedenborg may conveniently go. We may however draw the serious conclusion that men must be taken as they are, in what they are good for, and best for; and that ages also must be so taken. A new mind, new causes and questions, and a new conscience, are providentially given for every age.

In the reform of theological doctrine, however, Swedenborg was an anachronism in his own time, and

is more in keeping with the open mind of this age than with the Eighteenth Century. He is at one with all the spiritual-mindedness of our day, and with the increasing honesty, veracity and benevolence which thrive under it. As a divinely prepared agent of theological instruction and of human reformation, he is designed to be more and more important from epoch to epoch. For while the clock of social and political time is marked by seasons and sessions, the dial-plate of religious time is marked by centuries and æons.

Swedenborg is at present especially germane in this field to the many new forms and expressions of materialistic scientism and metaphysical infidelity: germane by an exact and happy opposition of inexhaustible reasons and forces. As the Dragon stood strategically ready for the man child in the Apocalypse, to destroy him, so the Doctrine of Swedenborg, Divinely human in every part, is punctually at hand to meet and overcome the monstrous births of godless natural genius now.

And clearly, the spirit of the age, the only "modern thought" in all countries, is moving towards him. The politics and consciences of the nations belong more and more to his "New Church." In literature especially we find a wide attestation of the words of a recent writer, that "all the great minds of the world are confluent towards Swedenborg." Thomas Carlyle himself, the most outspoken of the moderns, in his rough "veracities" enacted throughout a self-willed paraphrase of him glaring luridly downwards on mundane affairs.

It is, however, to be remarked that although Swedenborg dwelt in theological truths, the aim of each of these is the mind and soul of man; every one of them is for ever in combat with the selfhood, with the *proprium* or selfishness of humanity. Swedenborg's declarations have no *raison d'être* except to conflict with this, in the interest of the regeneration of the individual and the race. And hence the truths he makes known are not philosophical abstractions, but are of universal application to life and practice. He has not himself applied them below the understanding mind itself, and the life of the individual gathered up in the conscience, because that realm was given to him to address: but they cannot be received by the individual and the general intelligence without falling as divine light from that conscience upon the whole field of action and institution, public and private. Hence they do fall ultimately upon the questions of the age; upon its passions, propositions and politics: upon its acts of peace and war: upon the rights of men and women, and upon their duties; and this, urgently and immediately. And by this omnipresent token they are in full sympathy daily and hourly with every practical extension of justice and love. And they are never tolerant of human evil, and never cold to the good of man.

This side of the subject is admirably treated in Mr. Benjamin Worcester's work recently published, *The Life and Mission of Emanuel Swedenborg*. Here we have indeed a considerable Biography set in a frame of contemporaneous European History. I recommend it to all who wish for a fuller acquaintance

with the most remarkable Divine manifestation through a man that has been made since the First Advent: a manifestation so great that it is the Second Advent. My little book should be an advertisement towards this life and mission; only holding its own by reason of its handiness and its smallness. And perhaps because it deals more with the outward than with the inward; and therefore may suit the limited wants of many in this age.

I have for the most part stopped with Swedenborg himself, and have not extended my view to the proximate New Church which has arisen since his writings. I would indeed be a Swedenborgian according to his definition; for "Swedenborgianism," he says, "means the true worship of the Lord." Out of this comes "the New Church." "*True doctrine constitutes the Church, and a life according to it constitutes religion.*" Thus in proportion to the truth of their doctrine the New Church subsists in all religious bodies, and aims by its pressure upon the lives of their members to transform them all. It can exist pre-eminently in those assemblies which receive the doctrine in its purity, and are instructed in its light; and commit it to daily life and action. The New Jerusalem descends from God out of heaven into this Church, and is and constitutes it; and leads it on through all events to its predicted future.

I am moved to record as a characteristic of Swedenborg, the absence of what is generally called humanitarianism from his Theological Writings. Though all compact of religious love and tenderness, I cannot but note him as the greatest unsentimentalist

of known time. "A man," as Emerson said, "to whom Lycurgus would bow." For in all his teaching and experience one fact is predominant, that the whole chain and doom of every man's life depends upon his own good or evil career; the good or evil, spiritual, moral, and natural; the one life under the other. Keeping God's Commandments, and shunning evils as sins against the Lord, in everyday life, is the way to heaven, and there is no other way. Charity also, *in heaven, as on earth*, lies in acting sincerely, rightly, justly, and faithfully, *in your daily calling*. This is Swedenborg's Doctrine of Uses, and extends from eternity. The Angels told him that in heaven, "when every one does the work of his own calling sincerely, rightly, justly, and faithfully, the community subsists and persists in its good." In this way the Use-principle is sovereign over the "greatest-happiness principle:" and Bentham is a sentimentalist of the unattainable unless the desire of happiness be an accompaniment and effluent of the love of use; unless indeed it be entirely submitted to the latter love.

In reviewing my Sketch, which has led me to refer again to Swedenborg's originals, I am astonished at the wealth of deep thought and pregnant experience everywhere visible in these; at the amount of important things plain there which are totally unknown to and unheeded by the human race. I am amazed at the universal compass of these writings, the pillars of thought and insight in which appear to be co-extensive with the spiritual and natural universes. Every want of man as a soul and a mind is supplied by them; every want of man as living and acting upon the Word

of God given in the Bible. So that when I look at my little book, I find I have said almost nothing; that I have sampled for the gentle reader a few grains out of an immeasurable harvest; that I am but a sign-post to a city which is still seen in the distance, and not to be entered but through this Author himself as a Guide. His mind, I mean the Lord's mind in him, is as the ocean, as the earth and as the day; inexhaustible here, and by all the links of life and death, eternal. Reader, regard him patiently until you see him as he is. What he says of a certain Tabernacle spoken of in this book may be said of himself, that he and his work appear indeed simple to the eye, but according to the influx of light from heaven become more and more magnificent—*magnificum plus et plus*.

As a final duty I owe here, I desire to record, in contravention of anything to the contrary in these imperfect early pages, that I recognize to the full that Swedenborg's prepared mind, guided by the Lord, has given us imperishable doctrines of heaven and hell founded upon real experience; that God's creation from the top to the bottom hails and attests them; and that they will stand for ever, even as His Word and His world stand.

Nov. 1, 1885.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

—o—

I HERE present to English readers a first attempt towards a connected Biography of Swedenborg, fully sensible of my own deficiencies for such an undertaking. But my studies have seemed to require it of me at a period when the exchange of thought and learning is freer than heretofore, and when each man's wares are expected in the market. My first end will be satisfied if it renders an author, hitherto unknown from his great peculiarity, and difficult of access from his bulk, an object of some knowledge to the literary and intelligent classes.

In fulfilling my design I have endeavoured to keep always in view, that I am writing a life and not pleading a cause. Still I have written the life affirmatively, because I could not help it. The method has its advantages; for as our Carlyle says, "sympathy is the first essential towards insight." Nothing however will better please me, than a fair biography by another, from an opposite point of view.

For whatever I have said, I alone am responsible. No body of persons is chargeable with my senti-

ments in the work. While writing it, I have had no audience before me but the public.

I have everywhere made use of the most authentic documents and sources.

The reader who desires a further elucidation of Swedenborg's philosophy, necessarily brief in a popular life, will find more on the subject in the Introduction to my translation of the *Animal Kingdom*, and in my Introductory Remarks to Mr. Clissold's version of *Economy*: I would also refer him to Mr. Strutt's translation of Swedenborg's *Chemical Specimens*, to Mr. Clissold's, of the *Principia*, and to my *Popular Sketch of Swedenborg's Philosophical Works*.*

HAMPSTEAD, Oct. 5, 1849.

* The concluding sentence of this Preface is omitted because it refers to a detail which has been abundantly disproved in the Rev. Professor Tafel's *Documents*. I take the opportunity of this note to mention that the only public notice I recollect of the following little Work was a generous review in the Unitarian organ, *The Inquirer*, then (1849) edited by Mr. Lalor.

CONTENTS.

—o—

PART I.

	PAGE
SWEDENBORG THE PHILOSOPHER OF NATURE	I
Living interest in Swedenborg now more general—	
Reasons for Studying him—Birth and Parentage—	
Remarkable Childhood—Spiritual Proclivities—Aca-	
demical Attainments—Early Travels—He writes Poetry	
—His Choice of a Career—The Northern <i>Dædalus</i> —	
First Love—Charles XII. his Patron—Military Engineer-	
ing—Propounds various Practical Schemes—Estimate	
of his Abilities and Character—His Writings become	
Speculative—A first Doctrine of Forms—Chemical	
Architecture—Becomes Assessor of Mines—Goes to	
Germany—Publishes there his <i>Principia</i> and Mining	
Treatises—Scope of the <i>Principia</i> —Publishes an	
<i>Argument on the Infinite</i> —Visits the Austrian and	
Hungarian Mines—Corresponds with Christopher	
Wolff—Reflections on the Dutch Republic—Visits	
France and Italy—Writes <i>The Economy of the Animal</i>	
<i>Kingdom</i> —Its Scope— <i>The Animal Kingdom</i> —	
Summary of its Plan—Resolves to find the Soul—	
His Labours are for the Christianization of Science—	
—Inspiration and Expiration—Thought and Breath—	
Swedenborg and the Reviewers of his Day—His	
Contentment— <i>The Worship and Love of God</i> —A	
Scientific Eden—His Literary Manner—His Scientific	
System—The Natural Theologian.	

PART II.

	PAGE
SWEDENBORG THE SEER, THEOLOGIAN, AND	
PHILOSOPHER OF SPIRIT	73
The Lord appears to him—Introduction to the Spiritual	
World—His Respiration peculiarly ordered—Pre-	
face	b

liminary Spiritual Expectations—The Lights of Seer-ship—The Doctrine of Universal Correspondency—In two Worlds at once—A Spiritual Fisherman—He Resigns his Assessorship—Publishes the *Arcana Cælestia*—The Science of Correspondences—The Spiritual World—Spiritual and Natural Order—Resurrection from Natural Death—Scope of the *Arcana Cælestia*—Eric Brahe post mortem—Publishes *The Last Judgment*—The Historic Validity of the Last Judgment—The Consummated Church—Its Judgment in the Spiritual World—Those who were judged—The first Heavens which passed away—The Spectacle of the Judgment—The Difference in the Order of Things since—Publishes *Heaven and Hell*—Constitution of Heaven and Hell—Heaven is Divinely human—Hell is in Man's Choice—He visits the Planetary Worlds: how and why—The Religion of the Universe—Publishes the *Heavenly Doctrine*—The Fire at Stockholm—Kant's Account of it—General Interest created in his Supernaturalism—The Incident of the Mislaid Receipt—A Message from the Dead—The Deceased deny their Death—His Memorials to the Diet—Opposed to Despotism and Papacy—Views on Swedish Finance—Tells of the Death of Peter III. of Russia—Publishes the *Four Doctrines*—The Godhead of Christ—The Successive Churches from Creation—Publishes the *Divine Love and Wisdom*—The Doctrine of Discrete Degrees—The Devolution of living Forms—The various Styles of the Word—Its Inspiration—The Epistles of Paul—Use of the Apostolic Writings—Faith and Life—Swedenborg's Rules of Life—Publishes the *Divine Providence*—Nature of his *Spiritual Diary*—Writes the *Apocalypse Explained*—Dr. Beyer and his Index to Swedenborg's Writings—Publishes the *Apocalypse Revealed*—A memorable Relation—Swedenborg's House and Garden in Stockholm—Meets Bishop Hallenius—Visited by Rev. N. Collin—The Poet Atterbom's Narration—Makes the acquaintance of General Tuxen—Publishes the *Conjugal Love*—Sex, of the soul—Conjugal Love in Heaven—Abuses and Permissions—Conjugal Love in the Golden Age—Publishes the *Brief Exposition*—Dr. Ekebom attacks him—Publishes the *Intercourse*

between the Soul and the Body—Friends in London—The Catholic and Protestant Churches—Creed-making in the Pit—The Universality of Spheres—His Sanity is questioned—His *Conjugal Love* is interdicted in Sweden—He memorializes the King—The reason of his Mission—The True Object of Worship—Dr. Beyer's Declaration Respecting Swedenborg—The Gottenburg Consistory deliberates on his Writings—He offers to read the Egyptian Hieroglyphics—Last Words in Sweden—At General Tuxen's Party—Jung Stilling's Relation—Publishes the *True Christian Religion*—Visited by Ab Indagine—Corresponds with the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt—Why Miracles are no longer given—Dr. Ernesti criticizes him—Swedenborg's Genius and Style—The five Classes who receive his Works—His last Illness—Correspondence with John Wesley—His Spiritual Sight withdrawn—Takes the Holy Supper—His Dying Affirmation—His Death—Sandels' Eulogium in the House of Nobles—Swedenborg's life-long Health—Prepared for his Special Work by the Lord.

PART III.

PERSONAL TESTIMONIES AND ANECDOTES . 237

By Sandels—Count Höpken—Robsahm—Hartley—Ferehus—Brockmer—Bergström—Shearsmith—Mrs. Hart—Argument against Spiritism—By the old Gardener and his Wife—Two English ship Captains—Springer's Relations with Count Ekeblad made known—Swedenborg's Disclosures of interior Character from the other Life—The Poet Klopstock—Advice to Bolander—Archbishop Troilius—Swedenborg never married—The Diary of Dreams—Bishop Swedberg's Autobiography—Swedenborg's Freedom from worldly Cares—His Diet—Coffee and Vegetarianism—Habits of Life—Swedenborg thinks in Latin—Personal Traits—Money Matters and Alms-giving—His Literary Immensity—The English Nation in both Worlds—His Personal Character—His Heroism.

PART IV.

SPIRITUAL OPENINGS AND WANTS . . .	PAGE 267
------------------------------------	-------------

Swedenborg's Answers to Children's Questions—All Truths harmonize—Swedenborg the Apostle of a New Religion—The Opening of the Spiritual World—Medium for proclaiming the Spirit of the Word—The Angels learn from him—All receptive of Spiritual Communications, though not consciously—The World the first Word—Conception of the Grand Man—Views of Mahometanism—Some Lost Arts treated on the Spiritual Side—Scientific Obtuseness respecting Spiritual Science—Eden disclosed—Poetry connected with Reason and Science—Science heretofore severed from Literature—Marriage between the Reason and Imagination—Swedenborg's Inseparable Life and Doctrine—His alleged Mysticism—The Philosophers are the Mystics—Swedenborg attested by Experience—by Science—by Art—by Philosophy—by Poetry—by Politics—by Morals—and by Religion—Are his Revelations final?

APPENDIX.

Chemical Architecture,	PAGE 290
The Firmament of the Natural Universes,	292
Tablet to Swedenborg's Memory,	296

PART I.

SWEDENBORG THE PHILOSOPHER OF NATURE.

THERE is, in the present day, a constantly increasing enquiry among intelligent persons respecting the life and labours of EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, whose name is whispered, with more or less respect, and with undefined feelings, throughout Christendom; and it is the intention of the following pages to give a short account of that author's career, to serve as a guide to those readers who are interested in the subject, and to facilitate them in pursuing it for themselves. We shall dogmatize but little in the narrative, but chiefly state facts, and accompany them with a few comments. We are not blind followers of Swedenborg, although we accept his views of Christianity, but not because *he* discovered them, but because they were there to be discovered, and are true. The truth, we believe, is not arrested or contained by any man, but as soon as found, the mind may pass from that level, and rise from it as a vantage ground to new truths. It is, therefore, in the service of the public, and not of Swedenborg as a person, that we write these pages; for the time has come when every enlightened man and woman ought, for their own sakes, to know of Swedenborg and his pretensions.

For consider the case. Here was an author, flourishing in the last century, whose principal works were written from 1721 to 1772, and who, enjoying

at first a good reputation as a scientific and practical man, saw that reputation gradually expire as his own mind unfolded in his works, until at length he was only known as a visionary, and the fact of his early career was scarcely remembered by his few surviving contemporaries. There was every reason why his works died to that age. He had a firm faith, from the first, in the goodness of God, in the powers of the mind, in the wisdom and easiness of creation, and in the immoveable firmness of revelation; later on, a belief too in spiritual existence in a sense intelligible to all mankind. In his case, there was a breaking of shell after shell,—a rolling away of delusion after delusion, until the truth was seen to be itself real—to be the true creation, the world above and before the world, of which mortal creatures are made. How could so substantial a personage—a man whose spirit and its relations were a body and a force—be seen at all in the last century, when the public wave ran in spring-tides towards materialism, frivolity, and all conventionalities? The savage might as easily value a telescope or a theodolite as Europe estimate a Swedenborg at such an era. Accordingly, in proportion as he transcended brute matter and dead facts, he vanished from its sight, and was only mentioned with ridicule as a ghost-seer—the next thing to a ghost. But how stands the matter now? The majority, it is true, know nothing of Swedenborg; and it is for them we write. But the vast majority of those who *do* know—and the number is considerable in all parts of the civilised world—regard him with respect and affectionate admiration; many hailing him as the herald of a new church upon earth; many as a gift of the same provident deity who has sent, as indirect messengers, the other secular leaders of the race—the great poets, the great philosophers, the guiding intellects of the sciences; many also still looking towards his works in order to gain instruction

from them, and to settle for themselves the author's place among the benefactors of his kind. We ourselves are in all these classes, allowing them to modify each other; and perhaps, on that account, are suitable to address those who know less of the subject, for we have no position to maintain but the facts of the case.

Now whence this change in public opinion? It has been the most silent of revolutions, a matter almost of signs and whispers. Swedenborg's admirers have simply kept his books before the public, and given them a good word when opportunity offered. The rest has been done over the heads of men, by the course of events, by the advance of the sciences, by our new liberties of thought, by whatever makes man from ignorant, enlightened, and from sensual, refined and spiritualized. In short, it is the world's progress under Providence which has brought it to Swedenborg's door. For where a new truth has been discovered, that truth has said a courteous word for Swedenborg; where a new science has sprung up and entered upon its conquests, that science has pointed with silent-speaking finger to something friendly to, and suggestive of, itself in Swedenborg; where a new spirit has entered the world, that spirit has flown to its mate in Swedenborg; where the age has felt its own darkness and confessed it, the students of Swedenborg have been convinced that there was in him much of the light which all hearts were seeking. And so forth. The fact then is, that an unbelieving century could see nothing in Swedenborg; that its successor, more trustful and truthful, sees more and more; and strong indications exist that in another five-and-twenty years the field occupied by this author must be visited by the leaders of opinion *en masse*, and whether they will or no; because it is not proselytism that will take them there, but the expansion and culmination of the truth, and the organic

course of events. The following pages will have their end if they be one pioneer of this path which the learned and the rulers are to traverse.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG was born at Stockholm in Sweden, on the 29th of January, 1688. Descended from a family of credit and respectability among the miners of Stora Kopparberg (the great copper mountain), he was the third child and second son of Dr. Jesper Swedberg, Bishop of Skara in West Gothland, and of Sarah Behm, daughter of Albrecht Behm, Assessor of the Royal Board of Mines. His father, a man of talent and influence, and a voluminous author on many subjects both sacred and secular, held successively the appointments of Court Chaplain, Professor of Theology, and Provost at the Cathedral of Upsala; before he was made a bishop. The character of this prelate stood high in Sweden; his voice was heard on great occasions, whether to reassure the people under the calamity of battle or pestilence, or to rebuke the vicious manners of the upper classes, or the faults of the king himself; he laboured with constant and vigorous patriotism to rouse the public spirit of the country for useful and Christian objects.* Swedenborg's parentage and home were, therefore, happy omens of his future life: he was brought up with strict but kindly care; was carefully educated by his father in all innocence and scientific learning; and enjoyed the opportunities afforded by the sphere and example of family virtues, accomplishments, and high station, with which he was surrounded.

The only record we have of his childhood is in a letter which he wrote late in life to Dr. Beyer. "With regard to what passed in the earliest part of my life, about which you wish to be informed: from my fourth to my tenth year, my thoughts were

* For further particulars respecting this prelate, see our Biography of Jesper Swedberg in the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

constantly engrossed by reflecting on God, on salvation, and on the spiritual affections of man. I often revealed things in my discourse which filled my parents with astonishment, and made them declare at times, that certainly the angels spoke through my mouth.

"From my sixth to my twelfth year, it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning faith; to whom I often observed, that charity or love is the life of faith, and that this vivifying charity or love is no other than the love of one's neighbour; that God vouchsafes this faith to every one; but that it is adopted by those only who practise that charity.

"I knew of no other faith or belief at that time, than that God is the creator and preserver of nature; that He endues man with understanding, good inclinations, and other gifts derived from these.

"I knew nothing at that time of the systematic or dogmatic kind of faith, that God the Father imputes the righteousness or merits of His Son to whomsoever, and at whatever times, He wills, even to the impenitent. And had I heard of such a faith, it would have been then, as now, perfectly unintelligible to me."

This information from Swedenborg himself shows at how early a period he was penetrated with that theological reform which is all in all in his latest writings; and when to this it is added, that his sayings at the time were so extraordinary that his parents used to declare that "the angels spoke through his mouth," we see how deeply were the preparations laid for that spiritual and mental condition which his mature years were to present. Love as superior to faith, and spiritual intercourse as a way of information on spiritual things, were both shadowed forth in his very childhood; were both carried through science in his adult life, furnishing the torch of so many intellectual discoveries; and at length were completed in an unparalleled doctrinal system of theology on the one

hand, in a bodily* introduction to the spiritual world on the other. It may be answered that these confessions only prove the enthusiastic character of our author; but let us not beg the question which Swedenborg's life states.

In the sequel we shall have to point out some psychological peculiarities that occurred at "his morning and evening prayers" during his tender years, but at present we only note how free his father had left his mind of Lutheran dogmas, and how much his future course was indebted to this early respect which the Bishop paid to his son's independence. Reared as he was under a strict ecclesiastic, it is surprising that up to his twelfth year he knew nothing of "the plan of salvation," whether it argues his own inability to learn it, or his father's disbelief in it, or the omission of the latter, from whatever motives, to teach it to his son. Dr. Swedenborg, however, was a serious and earnest man, and under date of April 1729, he thus writes of the subject of our memoir:—"Emanuel, my son's name, signifies 'God with us,'—a name which should constantly remind him of the nearness of God, and of that interior, holy and mysterious connection, in which, through faith, we stand with our good and gracious God. And blessed be the Lord's name! God has to this hour indeed been with him; and may God be still with him, until he is eternally united with Him in His kingdom."

Great care was bestowed by the Bishop on Swedenborg's education, which he received principally at the University of Upsala. "A son of Bishop Swedberg," says Sandels, "could not fail to receive a good education . . . such as was suited to form his youth to virtue, industry and solid knowledge, particularly in those sciences that were to constitute his chief

* By body we do not mean the material but the spiritual body; for all spiritual things are bodily, though not material.

pursuit."* During his residence at Upsala, Swedenborg was assiduous in studying the learned languages, mathematics, mineralogy, and natural philosophy.

In 1709, at the age of 22, he took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and his first publication was an edition of select Sentences of Seneca and Publius Syrus Mimus, with comments of his own, which he had written for the degree.† First the author gives parallel aphorisms and passages from other writers, and then appends remarks of his own. In the latter we have often to admire his precocious judgment in treating of subjects which commonly belong to more adult consideration. The moral tone of the commentary is particularly vigorous, and when he speaks of friendship, filial love, and the like, there is a genius in his words proceeding from the fountains of the heart. The work was dedicated to his father, in a prelude full of gratitude and respectful love.

At the same date he published, in a work of his father's, a Latin version‡ of the Twelfth Chapter of Ecclesiastes, which showed great command of the Latin language and poetical expression of a high order.

Having completed his university education, in 1710, according to the practice of the time, he commenced a course of travel, and first he came to London. In his brief diary of the voyage, he relates with much simplicity the adventures which befel him. After a severe storm, in which there was danger of foundering, the ship was mistaken for a Danish pirate by an armed English vessel, and fired into, but without damage;

* *An Account of Emanuel Swedenborg, as contained in a Eulogium to his Memory, by M. Sandels.*

† *L. Annaei Seneca et Pub. Syri Mimi forsan et aliorum selecta Sententia. Quas notis illustratas edidit EMANUEL SWEDBERG [SWEDENBORG]. Ad fidem rarissima editionis principis anni 1709 denuo publici juris fecit et fragmenta nuper reperta adjecit Dr. J. F. I. Tafel.*

‡ Inserted in Tafel's *Magazin*, Band III., 1844.

and secondly, when he entered the port of London, some of his own countrymen came on board, and persuaded him to land at once, in ignorance of the quarantine regulations. The plague at the time was raging in his own country; and Swedenborg records that it was with difficulty that he escaped hanging for his imprudence.

He spent a twelvemonth at London and Oxford, from whence he passed to the continent, and lived for more than three years in France, Holland, and other countries. In 1715, he published at Greifswalde an Oration* on the return of Charles XII. from Turkey, and a small volume of Latin prose fables,† professedly after the manner of Ovid, but shadowing forth the virtues and exploits of certain modern Scandinavians; as he says, "kings and great people." In this work there is evidence of an acute faculty of observation, of considerable power of fancy and humour, and especially of a regard to the forms of mythological lore. In the latter respect it suggests the *Worship and Love of God*, a work of thirty years' later date, which we shall have to notice presently. At this time Swedenborg wrote to his brother-in-law, that he was "alternating mathematics with poetry in his studies," an instance of his early flexibility, and which sheds light upon his future deeds.

From Greifswalde he returned home in 1715, through Stralsund, just as Charles XII. was about to be besieged in that city, and it was probably shortly after this that he put forth at Skara a little volume of poems‡ written for the most part on his travels. These poems display fancy, but a controlled imagina-

* I do not know if this *Oration* is extant.

† *Camena Borea, cum heroum et heroïdum factis ludens, sive FABELLÆ Ovidianis similes, &c.* Ab EMANUEL SWEDENBERG [SWEDENBERG]. Edidit Dr. J. F. I. Tafel.

‡ *Ludus Heliconius, sive Carmina Miscellanea, quæ variis in locis cecinit* EMANUEL SWEDENBERG [SWEDENBERG]. Recensuit Dr. J. F. I. Tafel.

tion. If we may convey to the English reader such a notion of Latin verses, they remind one of the Pope school, in which there is generally some theme or moral governing the flights of the muse. Under various forms, they hymn the praises of patriotism, love, friendship, and filial regard, and they love mythological clothing. It is noteworthy that we find so methodical a philosopher as Swedenborg making courteous passes with the Muse, as though to acknowledge the truth and import of immortal song. Still his effusions were hardly more than a polite recognition of poetry, that sweeter and weaker sex of truth; for to call Swedenborg himself a great poet, as Count Höpken has done, is blind and indiscriminating. He did indeed weave great poetry at last, but it was by the order and machinery of a stupendous intelligence, and poetry so produced is not proper poetry but reason,—is not feminine but masculine truth.

One of his poems has been spiritedly paraphrased in our own day by Francis Barham, who considers it by far the finest in the collection, and to give the reader some idea of the above volume, as well as to adorn our own pages, we insert his version. "Swedenborg," he premises, "was at this time twenty-two years of age. Charles XII., the glorious monarch of Sweden, after having reduced the Danes to obedience, had attacked the Russians; and, after the disastrous battle of Pultowa, was enclosed in Bender, the sport of Turkish intrigues. At this crisis of his fate, the King of Denmark determined to avenge his past disgraces on the Swedes. He made a descent on Skåne, and took the town of Helsingborg. The Swedes, however, remained firm, and the disasters of their king rather inflamed their loyalty and patriotism than dispirited them. An army, under Stenbock, partly consisting of undisciplined peasants, gave the Danes a bloody defeat, and forced the survivors to quit the country with precipitation.

"Such was the occasion of Swedenborg's triumphal Ode to Stenbock on the defeat of the Danes."

The following is Barham's paraphrase :—

"Lulled be the dissonance of war—the crash
Of blood-stained arms—and let us listen now
To sweetest songs of jubilee. From harp
And thrilling lyre, let melodies of joy
Ring to the stars, and every sphere of space
Glow with the inspiring soul of harmony.
Phœbus applauds, and all the Muses swell
Our glory on their far-resounding chords.
Well may the youthful poet be abashed,
Who sings such mighty enterprise,—his theme
So great, so insignificant his strain !—
Let Europe boast of Sweden—in the North,
South, East, and West, victorious.—Round the Pole
The seven Triones dance exultingly,
While Jove the Thunderer sanctions his decree,
Never to let the hyperborean bear
Sink in the all-o'erwhelming ocean stream ;
For when in the wave he bathes his giant limbs,
'Tis but to rise more proudly. Even now
The fertile Scandia wreaths her brow with flowers,
And Victory's trophies glitter over Sweden.
The God of battles smiles upon our race,
And the fierce Dane sues for our mercy :—Yea,
The troops insidious Cimbria sent against us
Lie scattered by a warrior young in arms.
Though Swedish Charles, our hero King's afar
In Russian battles—his bright valour fills
The heart of Stenbock—the victorious one ;—
These names of Charles and Stenbock like a spell
Created armaments, and hurled pale fear
Among our foes.—Stenbock ! thy red right hand
Hath smitten down the spoiler ; and in thee
Another Charles we honour,—and rejoice
To hail thee, hero of thy grateful country.
Bind the triumphal laurel round thy brow,
Such chaplet well becomes the invincible ;
Ascend thy chariot—we will fling the palms
Before thee, while the peal of martial music
Echoes thy high celebrity around.
Hadst thou in olden times of fable lived,
I had invoked thee as a demigod.
Behold, how glitteringly in northern heaven
Thy star exults : the name of Magnus fits

Both it and thee, inseparably linked :
In thee, the genius of the North expands,
And all the virtue of thy ancestry
Illustrates thee. Chief of our gallant chiefs—
Too gallant for a song as weak as mine—
Oh ! could their names enshrined in monuments
Appear, how would the eyes of Sweden kindle
To read them. Coronets of gold for thee
Were all too little recompense ;—hereafter,
A crown of stars is all thine own. The foe
Lies broken by thy force and heroism :
Numerous as Denmark's sands they came—how few
Returned—their princes and their soldiery
Repulsed with scorn, while shuddering horror hung
Upon their flight—Jove's thunderstorms assailed
Their bands of treachery, daylight was eclipsed
In thickest clouds, and the pure cause of God
And patriotism triumphed. Ay, the cause
Of Sweden's royalty, which Denmark strove—
How vainly—to despoil. Our king perceived
Their rising hatred ; poets were forbid
To sing his praise—his praise beyond compare :
For this, in sooth, the land was steeped in blood ;
Even for this, the fire and sword laid waste
Our native soil. Then let each warrior bind
The laurel chaplet, and the bard exult
O'er slaughtered rebels. For the destiny
Of Charles shall yet awake the Muse's hymns.
Ah, soon return,—Oh, monarch of our love !
Oh ! Sun of Sweden, waste not all thy light
To illumine the crescent of the Ottomans !
Thy absence we bewail, wandering in glooms
Of midnight sorrow—save that these bright stars
That lead us on to victory, still console
Thy people's hearts, and bid them not despair."

Our author was now on the threshold of active life, and his Right Reverend father gave him full liberty to choose the direction of his future career. The Bishop has left in the Library at Skara an autobiography of 1000 pages, in which, as we have seen, he mentions his son Emanuel with praise and pride. This book must be a curiosity, and we hope will one day be published, to illustrate the history and manners of the time and the writer. In the course of other

matter the Bishop says:—"I have kept my sons to that profession to which God has given them inclination and liking: I have not brought up one to the clerical office, although many parents do this inconsiderately, and in a manner not justifiable, by which the Christian church and the clerical order suffer not a little, and are brought into contempt."

Swedenborg started in life with powerful family connections: one of his sisters married Eric Benzelius, a man of great talents and influence, and subsequently Archbishop of Upsala; another was united to Lars Benzelstierna, governor of a province, and whose son became a bishop. Other members of his family also enjoyed ecclesiastical and civil dignities. There can be no doubt that he had abundant patronage with the court, in addition to the great talents and moral integrity which were his personal commendation. The profession to which he brought these advantages, was such as was concerned about mining, smelting, and various mechanical and engineering works. His letters from abroad to Eric Benzelius at Upsala, brought him into connexion with the active and youthful minds in that University, detailing, as they did, whatever inventions, discoveries, and good books he met with on his travels, as well as new ideas and suggestions of his own. No sooner had he returned to Sweden in 1715, than we find him entering upon active prosecution of his calling.

"Swedenborg," says Collin, "is silent on the merits of his youth, which were great. The author of a dissertation on the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsala, published in 1789, mentions him as one of its first and best members, thus:—'His letters to the Society while abroad, witness that few can travel so usefully. An indefatigable curiosity, directed to various important objects, is conspicuous in all. Mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics seem to have been his favourite sciences, and he had already made great

progress in these. Everywhere he became acquainted with the most renowned mathematicians and astronomers, as Flamsteed, Delahire, Varignon, etc. This pursuit of knowledge was also united with a constant zeal to benefit his country. No sooner was he informed of some useful discovery, than he was solicitous to render it beneficial to Sweden, by sending home models. When a good book was published, he not only gave immediate notice of it, but contrived to procure it for the library of the University."

From 1716 to 1718 he edited a periodical work, entitled *Dædalus Hyperboreus*,* a record of the new flights of mechanical and mathematical genius in Sweden. This work reached six numbers. In the preface to it, the editor showed how little he valued the "impossibilities" of the day: he had already begun to think of flying-machines, and to speak of them as among the *desiderata* of the age; for he was imbued with the very spirit of our own railroad and electric era, and had a very limited belief in final impossibilities. Among the contributors to this work was Christopher Polhem, called the Swedish Archimedes, whose connexion with Swedenborg was of great importance to the latter. Besides this, the *Dædalus* is said to contain the lucubrations and papers of a scientific society that was founded by Eric Benzelius among the professors at Upsala.

In the course of 1716, Swedenborg was invited by Polhem to repair with him to Lund, to meet Charles XII., who had just escaped from Stralsund; when he enjoyed much intercourse with the king, who was pleased to praise the *Dædalus*, and to take Swedenborg under his royal patronage. It was his Majesty's wish that in time he should succeed Polhem, the Counsellor of Commerce. He had the choice of three offices, and Charles had the warrant for the rank and duties

* The *Dædalus* has not been translated into English.

of Assessor Extraordinary of the Board of Mines made out for him. (The Board of Mines, it is to be observed, was a constitutional department of the Government, having inspection over the mines and metallic works, so important to the prosperity of Sweden, whose foreign commerce is still greatly dependent upon its mineral wealth.) On this occasion intrigue was busy against him, but the clear-sighted Charles saw the merits of Swedenborg, and confirmed him in his place, obliging the other candidate, at the king's own table, to write out the warrant himself. The king also wrote a letter to the College of Mines, "ordering that Swedenborg should have a seat and voice in the College, whenever he could be present, and especially whenever any business of a *mechanical nature* was to be considered." It was also expressly stated in the same document, "that Swedenborg was appointed to co-operate with Polhem, and assist him in his affairs, and in the working of his inventions." The works of which he was thus immediately summoned to the joint superintendence, were the formation of the basin of Carlsclrona, and of locks between Lake Wener and Gottenburg, among the rapids and cataracts of Trolhätta. Upon these undertakings he was engaged from time to time until the death of his royal master.

At this period there occurred an interesting passage in his life. He sojourned in Polhem's house, at once as his coadjutor, and as his pupil in mathematics, and fell in love with his second daughter, Emerentia Polhem. "Polhem's eldest daughter," says he in one of his letters, "is promised to a page of the king's named Manderström. I wonder what people say of this in relation to myself. His second daughter is, in my opinion, much the handsomest." The lady was only in her fourteenth year, and not being willing to accept Swedenborg's overtures, she did not suffer herself to be betrothed. Her father, however, had a

great affection for him, and gave him the lady in a written agreement, hoping that in future years his daughter would be more favourably disposed. This bond his daughter, from filial obedience, signed. Great was her depression of mind after thus binding herself to one to whom she felt no attachment; and her brother, in compassion, abstracted the document secretly from Swedenborg, who used to read it over day after day, and soon missed it. When Swedenborg found what anguish he had caused to the object of his affections, he freely relinquished all claims to her hand, and took his departure from her father's house; and this is the only love affair which his biographers have to record. For the life of prodigious concentration that he was henceforth to lead, it seemed almost necessary that the ordinary impediments to solitary and public energy should be put aside; and this early disappointment probably had its share in preventing him from contracting domestic ties. So at least the best authorities presume. We shall once again recur to this topic later on.

With regard to the *Dædalus*, it appears to have been stopped for want of funds. In a letter from Wenersborg (of which we insert the latter part also, for the light which it throws on Swedenborg's prospects at the time), Sept. 14, 1718, our author says: "I found his Majesty very gracious to me, more so than I could expect; which is a good omen for the future. Count Mörner also showed me all the favour I could possibly desire. Every day I laid mathematical subjects before his Majesty, who allowed everything to please him. When the eclipse took place, I had his Majesty out to see it, and we reasoned much thereupon. He again spoke of my *Dædalus*, and remarked upon my not continuing the work, to which I pleaded want of means; this he does not like to hear of, so I hope to have some assistance shortly. With respect to brother Esberg, I shall endeavour to find

him employment on the sluice works. I wish my little brother Ericus were grown up. I think I am already in a condition to begin a sluice work for myself, and when I have my own command I shall be able to serve both of them. My pay on the sluice works at present is only three silver dollars a day; I hope soon to have more."

We have some record of the sort of intercourse which Swedenborg enjoyed with his sovereign, in a letter that he wrote to Nordberg, the biographer of Charles XII. In this document he enters in detail upon certain long conversations that his Majesty held with Polhem and himself, upon the decimal mode of numeration; and in the course of which the king not only proposed, but actually produced, a specimen of a system founded upon ciphers up to 64, which specimen, in his own hand-writing, he gave to Swedenborg. He said to the latter one day, regarding mathematics, that "he who knew nothing of this science did not deserve to be considered a rational man." "A sentiment," as Swedenborg adds, "truly worthy of a king."

For the rest, in these years Swedenborg was not without family discrepancies, which caused him pain. Eric Benzeliuss appears throughout to have been his trusted friend and adviser, and we find him writing to his correspondent as follows: "Among all my relations I know of no one who has wished me, and still wishes me, so well as yourself. In this I was particularly confirmed by your letter to my father respecting my journey. If I can in any way shew my gratitude, it shall not be wanting. Brother Unge likes nobody, at least he has estranged my dear father's and mother's affections from me now for four years. However, it will not benefit himself." At the same time, for his own part, Swedenborg was using every effort to forward the interests of his family, and especially of his brothers, through his connexion with the highest personages in the realm.

In 1718, Swedenborg executed a work of importance during the siege of Frederickshall. He was commissioned to transport over hill and dale, by means of rolling machines, two galleys, five large boats and a sloop, from Strömstad to the Iddefjord, a distance of 17 miles. By this operation the king found himself in a situation to carry out his plans; for under cover of these vessels, he transported on pontoons his heavy artillery, which it would have been impossible to have conveyed by land, under the very walls of Frederickshall. It was at the siege of this fort that Charles XII. was killed on the 30th of November. Swedenborg was not present at Frederickshall. He escaped the winter campaign in Norway very narrowly, and not without employing some little management.

In the same year our author published two works, 1. An Introduction to Algebra, under the title of *The Art of the Rules*. This book, which we are not acquainted with at first hand, was reviewed at considerable length, and mentioned with honour, in *The Literary Transactions of Sweden*,* not only because the author was the first Swede who wrote on the higher branches of the subject, but for the excellence of the treatise, its clearness, and the examples showing the application and uses of the rules. Only a part of the work was published; the unpublished portion, according to Lagerbring, contains the first account given in Sweden of the differential and integral calculus. 2. *Attempts to find the Longitude of Places by Lunar Observations*. Both the above works were written in Swedish, and published at Upsala.

Of this period of Swedenborg's life there are some interesting records preserved in his letters to Eric Benzeliuss, from which we have already quoted. Notwithstanding the king's patronage, and Swedenborg's increasing repute, the latter appears to have been far

* *Acta Literaria Sueciae*, vol. i. p. 126.

from satisfied with his position or prospects. He complains that his labours are not appreciated. "I have taken a little leisure this summer," says he, "to put a few things on paper, which I think will be my last productions; for speculations and inventions like mine find no patronage or bread in Sweden, and are looked down upon by a number of political blockheads as a sort of school-boy exercise, which ought to stand quite back, while their presumptuous finesse and intrigues step forward." It may excite a smile to find the most voluminous author of the last century imagining that his labours were completed with what, in his case, were really but "school-boy exercises;" at the same time it is not surprising that one so singly devoted to the arts and sciences should conceive a disgust for those who were jostling and manœuvring towards the world's rewards up the stair of political intrigue, and with whom his position brought him into contact.

In 1719, the Swedberg family was ennobled by Queen Ulrica Eleonora, and from this time our author bore the new name of Swedenborg,* by which his nobility was signified, and took his seat with the nobles of the equestrian order in the triennial assemblies of the States. We are not aware whether he bore any part in the deliberations of the Assembly during this period of his life. His new rank conferred no title beyond the change of name: he was not either a count, or a baron, as is commonly supposed. His pen, which was gradually becoming fertile, yielded four works in this year. 1. *A Proposal for a Decimal System of Money and Measures.* 2. *A Treatise on the Motion and Position of the Earth and Planets.* 3. *Proofs derived from appearances in Sweden, of the Depth of the Sea, and the Greater Force of the Tides, in the Ancient World.* And 4. *On Docks, Sluices, and*

* We have used, as most convenient, the name of Swedenborg throughout our sketch.

Salt Works. These little works were all written in Swedish. In allusion to his proposal for a decimal coinage, and to certain mathematical studies, he says in another of his letters that "it is a little discouraging to him to be advised to relinquish his views, as among the novelties which the country cannot bear." And he avows that for his part he "desires all possible novelties, ay, a novelty for every day in the year, because in every age there is abundance of persons who follow the beaten track, and remain in the old way; while there are not more than from six to ten in a century who bring forward innovations founded on argument and reason." He adds his confidence that "he has proposed nothing that can cause the slightest inconvenience to the country." The world around him was in the midnight of the past, but he saw clearly that in the distribution of human talent, there is no just proportion kept between antiquity and genius, and he laboured and longed for the new era, for even then he lived in the dim twilight of that day which is still but dawning upon the earth—the day of the nobler installation of the arts and sciences.

His work on the decimal system must have been thought something of in his own country, for we find it reprinted so late as 1795. We may add, however, that none of his Swedish treatises are known in this country, excepting those which also have a Latin version.

We have now sketched the prelude of Swedenborg's life—that portion of his career which belongs peculiarly to his native country, and in concluding this department of our narrative, we will again borrow from the same collection of letters, to gain an insight into some of the motives which caused him to desire another sphere of operations. "What I have now printed," says he, "with a sheet on the decimal system, will be my last production, for I find that Pluto and Envy possess the Hyperboreans, and that

a man will prosper better among them by acting the idiot, than by remaining a man of understanding." And again: "Should I be so fortunate as to get together the means which are required, and in the meantime . . . have been able to acquire some credit abroad, I have determined to go forth, to seek my fortune in my business, which lies in all such things as concern the advancement of mining. To be loose and irresolute, to see one's place abroad, and yet to remain in the darkness and frost of Sweden, where the furies, Envy and Pluto, have taken up their abode and dispense all rewards, and where all my pains are rewarded with shabbiness, would be worthy only of a fool." We give these solitary specimens of grumbling, revealed in private letters, to stand for what they are worth. The author's station might be thought by those who are less fortunate, an enviable one; but it is highly probable that the office of Assessor in the Mineral College, conferred upon him in 1716, involved few direct duties, and but little salary; and that it was not till he succeeded to the place held by Polhem at the Board, according to the king's original intention, that he derived from it a satisfactory income. Polhem lived to the age of 90, and died in 1751.

Having followed Swedenborg, the Swede, through his youth, and come to a convenient halting place, let us take a brief survey of the ground we have passed over, and gather up his character and properties, so far. He germinated, as nearly all children do, in theology: rose thence into poetry and literature, speedily alternating them with mathematics; out of these proceeded mechanical and physical studies having a reference to practice. His early manhood was devoted to active employment, and spent partly under the eye and command of the most incurably warlike of the Swedish kings. Even at this time a widely contemplative element glimmers from such of

the foregoing works as we have perused. His ardent pursuit of geology, then a comparatively new science, was already converting itself into cosmogonical speculations. We are not indeed aware that any great brilliancy was displayed in his works up to this date, but rather great industry, fertile plans, a belief in the penetrability of problems usually given up by the learned, a gradual and experimental faculty, and an absence of precocity. In regard of general truths, he showed the evidence of a slowly-apprehending, persevering, and at last, thoroughly comprehending mind. If we may use the metaphor, the masonry of his intellect was large, slow, and abiding, but by no means showy; from the parts hitherto constructed, we could hardly prophecy whether the superstructure would be a viaduct, or a temple; a work of material utility, or a palace for sovereignty and state.

On the moral side, we infer strong but controllable passions, not interfering with the balance of his mind, or the deepness of his leisure. His filial affection is brilliant, though we have no record of the extent of his obligations to his mother, whose death took place in 1720, to his father's "great grief and loss." His energy and fidelity in his business commended him to those above him, and he was probably more indebted to intrinsic qualities for his position, than to his family connexions, or to clever courtiership on his own part. His religious beliefs at this time nowhere appear; but from indications in his books and letters, it is certain that his mind was not inactive upon the greatest of subjects, and that he was a plain believer in revelation, though not without his own conjectures about its meaning and import. Such was Swedenborg in the spring and flower of his long manhood.

In the early part of 1721 our author visited Holland for the second time, and in this year, besides being a contributor to *The Literary Transactions of Sweden*,*

* 1720 and 1721.

he published the following little works at Amsterdam : —1. *Some Specimens of a Work on the Principles of Natural Philosophy, comprising New Attempts to explain the Phenomena of Chemistry and Physics by Geometry.* 2. *New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, and particularly respecting the Elemental Nature of Fire; together with a New Construction of Stoves.* 3. *A New Method of finding the Longitudes of Places on Land or at Sea, by Lunar Observations.* 4. *A New Mechanical Plan of Constructing Docks and Dykes.* 5. *A Mode of Discovering the Powers of Vessels by the Application of Mechanical Principles.**

From Amsterdam Swedenborg went to Leipsic, through Aix-la-Chapelle, Liege, and Cologne, and examined the mines and smelting-works near those places; and in 1722 he published at Leipsic, *Miscellaneous Observations connected with the Physical Sciences*, Parts I.—III.; and at Hamburg, in the same year, Part IV., *Principally on Minerals, Iron, and the Stalactites in Baumann's Cavern.*† Swedenborg made this tour to improve his practical knowledge of mining, and at the same time to publish the treatises which he had on hand. The whole expense of his journey was defrayed by Louis Rudolph, Duke of Brunswick, who presented him on his departure from Blankenburg, with a golden medallion and a weighty silver goblet; Swedenborg, on his part, making an elegant acknowledgment of the Duke's munificence, in dedicating the Fourth Part of his *Miscellaneous Observations* to that Prince.

In the Works we have just enumerated Swedenborg began his travels into future ages; he manifested the

* These works have recently been translated by C. E. Strutt, and published by the Swedenborg Association. We refer, with acknowledgment, to Mr. Strutt's Prefaces to this and his other translations, as containing materials that have been of help to us in writing this Memoir.

† Translated by C. E. Strutt.

tokens of a light distinct from contemporary genius, and with a very decided intrepidity attempted to scale the proximate heights of nature. The fortress of mineral truth was the first which he approached, and with the most guarded preparation. His method was furnished by geometry and mechanics; the laws of the pure sciences were to be the interpreters of the facts of chemistry and physics. "The beginning of nature," says he, "is identical with the beginning of geometry; the origin of natural particles is due to mathematical points, just as is the origin of lines, forms, and the whole of geometry; because everything in nature is geometrical, everything in geometry, natural." He therefore attempted to traverse chemical essence and combination by the fixed truths of mathematics, and to carry the pure sciences into those which are mixed, interpreting the latter by the former. It was the *à posteriori* method with *à priori* conceptions directing it,—he began with the known, and pushed it into the unknown,—with the outermost truths of figure or outline, and travelled by their clue into the inner mineral architecture, into chemistry itself. The immediate doctrine which our author formed, and by which he worked, was, that the particles of primary solids are moulded in the interstices between the particles of fluids, and take the shape of those interstices; and that the framework thus modelled, by undergoing a fracture at its weakest parts, through motion caused by heat, etc., gives rise to new shapes that become the initial particles of new substances. As with Thales of Miletus, the oldest Grecian speculator, so with Swedenborg, water was the first of planetary existences, which in its oceanic depths, by the world of pressure from above, broke up its own particles, forced them to resign the last encasement of which they were made, and by precipitating this into the interstices of other round water particles, modelled

the infinite seeds of the dry land which was to come in those precise and ever-working *matrices*. Water was the womb of the infinitesimal land; common salt, the first modelling of the future earth. The fracture of the saline particle, breaking off its sharp parts, gave rise to acids; and the body or stoma that was left, constituted a peculiar earth. Of course we cannot pursue this theory, but must be content with remarking, that Swedenborg has worked his mould, the interstice of the water-particle, (or we should rather say, the various interstices, for round particles may be placed upon each other in many ways so as to produce different forms,) with an apparently exhaustive ingenuity. With surprising power of detail he has applied the principle to the chemical facts known in his own day respecting diverse substances, as also to light and colours; suggesting a cosmogony and celestial mechanics in the smallest things, similar to that which obtains in the system of the universe. There seems no reason why the intellect should not at length reach such a position, though how far Swedenborg has attained it, geniuses kindred to his own, if the old method of thought be permanent, can perhaps alone decide. We ought, however, to note, that rigidly mechanical as our author's theory appears, it has at the core, in what he calls "the subtle matter," that is to say fire, ether or caloric, a latent dynamical principle which shapes and guides the mechanical one, and upon which Swedenborg largely draws; although it must also be confessed, that in his theory of fire, he pushes mechanics into even that finality of nature, and harnesses the horses of the sun to the car of his ambitious geometry. Was he right, or was he not, in supposing that knowledge of nature is co-extensive with mechanical ideas, and that though these do not give motion, or life, yet where they are absent, Being itself falls through into nothingness? This thought

was not absent from his latest Theology. We apprehend that the history of science will tell us, upon whatever ascertained truth we fix, that that truth has a mechanical precision or basis, and that though it may have vital contents besides, yet these are only true and lasting in themselves so far as they also are similarly founded and embodied. The faith in this principle, as it is successively produced, appears in fact to be in the mind, the essential outline of the new sciences; and the man who has the faith first, enters the field thereby, and is the first to reap the knowledge.

For these works M. Dumas, the French chemist, does not hesitate to ascribe to Swedenborg the origin of the modern science of Crystallography. "It is to him we are indebted," says Dumas, "for the first idea of making cubes, tetrahedrons, pyramids, and the different crystalline forms, by the grouping of spherical particles; and it is an idea that has since been renewed by several distinguished men, Wollaston in particular."

Before dismissing *The Miscellaneous Observations*, we will remark upon the pleasant mixture of practice and theory which prevails in the work, and upon the extraordinary activity of the author's senses. Well does Sandels say, that it was not only mines that he went to examine, but that "of all that could fix the attention of a traveller there was nothing that escaped him." His observations are told in an easy style which wins the reader's confidence, and one wishes that one had shared with his fellow-traveller, Dr. John Hessel, the way-side conversation of so instructive and amusing a pilgrimage.

After fifteen months spent abroad, Swedenborg returned to Stockholm in the midsummer of 1722, where in that year he published anonymously a work in Swedish, *On the Depreciation and Rise of the Swedish Currency*. What may be the nature, or merits, of this

treatise, we do not know, but that it had *material* in it may be surmised from the fact, that it was republished, with introductory remarks respecting the coinage in ancient and modern times, at Upsala in 1771. We shall see presently that Swedenborg did not cease to devote attention to the currency, and that of his few senatorial acts in his later days, some had reference to that especial subject.

It was now that he entered for the first time upon the actual duties of the Assessorship, the functions of which he had been unwilling to exercise until he had completed his knowledge of metallurgy. For the next eleven years he divided his time and occupations between the business of the Royal Board of Mines and his studies. The current of his life during this interval flows in a silent stream, but which was turned into working power, as we shall shortly learn. We may picture the punctual official at his desk, and the courageous student, observer and contemplatist in over hours: practice *and* theory in business—practice *and* theory in science.

"The Consistory of the University and the Academy of Sciences of Upsala," as Sandels says, "did themselves the honour of being the first to acknowledge the merit of their illustrious countryman, and to show him marks of their esteem. In 1724 the Consistory had invited him to accept the professorship of pure mathematics, vacant by the death of Nils Celsius; because, as they expressed themselves, his acceptance of the office would be for the advantage of the students and to the ornament of the University. But he declined the honour. The Academy of Sciences admitted him into the number of its members in 1729."

Apropos of pure mathematics, he makes some amusing remarks in a letter to his brother-in-law. "I wonder at Messieurs the mathematicians," says he, "having lost all heart and spirit to realize that

fine design of yours for an astronomical observatory. It is the fatality of mathematicians to remain chiefly in theory. I have often thought it would be a capital thing if to each ten mathematicians one good practical man were added, to lead the rest to business: he would be of more use and mark than all the ten." One can understand why a professorship of pure mathematics was not the chosen vocation of Swedenborg.

During this time his books were reviewed with commendation in *The Transactions of the Learned** published at Leipsic, the great literary and scientific organ of the time; his contributions to art and science being thankfully acknowledged, although his theories brought the reviewers to a *non-plus*, and made them exclaim, with a postponement of which we also may avail ourselves—*let others decide*.

We are now about to enter upon another era of Swedenborg's life, when his tentative youth and manhood were past, and he came into possession of a region all his own, and presided there with an almost despotic strength of affirmation; at which we must not wonder, for whether owing to the fault or discernment of his contemporaries, he inhabited his intellectual estate unquestioned, unlimited, contradicted, and alone. No longer an issuer of pamphlets, or an ordinary petitioner of the arts and sciences, he had for years lain fallow of small attempts, and had accumulated the resources of his untiring industry and observation in a work with which his great career may be said to have commenced. We allude to his *Principia*.

In the middle of May, 1733, he went abroad for the third time, accompanied by Count Gyllenborg and other friends; and after spending five months in Germany, (storing himself with every object that his large curiosity could bring before him, whether arts, manufactures, museums, books, scenery, men,

* *Acta Eruditorum*.

manners and customs, ecclesiastical institutions, or governments,)* he commenced the printing of his *Principia*† at Leipsic, in the month of October. This was the first *folio* volume of three, collectively bearing the title of *Philosophical and Mineral Works*, which were completed and published at Dresden and Leipsic in the middle of 1734. His former patron, the Duke of Brunswick, at whose court he was again a visitor, defrayed the cost of this expensive publication, which was dedicated to the Duke, and enriched with numerous copperplates, and with an engraved likeness of the author.

It is a strange general title which he chose—*Philosophical and Mineral Works*, but there is a meaning in this uncommon blending. Philosophy is nothing, just in proportion as it is not married with all things: and in the *ascending* scale of its alliances, it first solicits the hand of the mineral universe, before arriving at the higher degrees. Such at all events was Swedenborg's method, which the title of his book justly conveyed: and he afterwards rose to the union of the philosophical and organic, and finally to the marriage of the philosophical and the human. It is there alone that philosophy realizes its first love, and subjugating the earthly bond, but never disowning it, freshens itself age after age in contact with that better nature which contains the eternal.

We must, however, under the philosophical and the mineral, and look separately at each, for the author kept them perfectly free and distinct, though not disunited. And first for the treatises on mining. These were Swedenborg's offering to his business and position; the earnest of his desire to leave the

* *Itinerarium*, ex operibus EMAN. SWEDENBORGHII posthumis. Pars I. Nunc primum edidit Dr. J. F. I. Tafel.

† *The Principia*; or the *First Principles of Natural Things*; being *New Attempts toward a Philosophical Explanation of the Elementary World*.

metallurgic world better than he found it. The second folio volume (pp. 396) is on iron; the third (pp. 546), on copper and brass. Facts speak well for their practical value. The chapters on the conversion of iron into steel were reprinted at Strasburg in 1737; and the treatise on iron was translated into French by Bouchu, and published at Paris in 1762 in the magnificent *Description des Arts et Metiers*. Cramer says of the work in his *Elements of the Art of Assaying*, that Swedenborg has "given the best accounts, not only of the methods and newest improvements in metallic works in all places beyond seas, but also of those in England and the American colonies." Each volume has a threefold division; the first part on smelting, the second on assaying, the third on the chemical processes and experiments about the metals. Each volume is ushered in by a characteristic preface. In that on iron, the author avows his desire to collect and publish the mining and metallurgic secrets of different countries, and indignantly denounces those who keep them from the public for purposes of private gain. He also shows his partiality for metallurgy, as being a thoroughly practical science, "all whose details are squared with works;" yet desires that it may "enter into friendly relations with chemistry, and the two join hands, and tend unitedly to one and the same goal." He further states, that it had been his intention to give "a theoretical treatise on the metals," but that an integral survey of chemistry and the elemental world was necessary to such an enquiry: which again shows the practical tendency to unity, to regard his subjects in their planetary dimension, which was with him a constant method, and governed all particular investigations. In the preface on copper, we have a gorgeous description of his native mine at Fhalun, and a statement of the author's views of the causes and advantages of the deluge—not, however, the

Noahitic, but a planetary deluge; of how it brought the treasures of the earth to the surface, and by opening the womb of the general mother, contributed to the multiplication of causes and occasions, and to the variety of telluric substances.

"In forming our estimate of Swedenborg's calibre at this time," as we have observed elsewhere, "we cannot omit taking notice of his large Treatises on Iron and Copper, each occupying a folio volume, and busied with the practical details of mining in various parts of the world. That a mind of such potent theoretical tendency should have had strength to undergo the dry labour of these compilations—that one who breathed his native air in a profound region of causes, should come for so long an abiding into the lower places of the earth, to record facts, processes and machineries, as a self-imposed task in fulfilment of his station as Assessor of Mines—this is one remarkable feature of a case where so much is remarkable, and shows how manly was his will in whatever sphere he exerted himself. The books of such a man are properly works, not to be confounded for a moment with the many-coloured idleness of a large class who are denominated 'thinkers.' " *

The *Principia* next claims our attention, and calls forcibly to mind the truth of a remark by Mr. Emerson, that it would require "a colony of men" to do justice to the works of Swedenborg. From the barest descriptions of iron and copper works, such as the Vulcanian workmen might themselves appreciate, we arrive by a step at a pinnacle of one of those mountains where a Newton and a Humboldt might be useful fellow-watchers of the most delicate laws on the one hand, of the panorama of a subjacent universe on the other. We pay the work no ill compliment,

* *A Popular Sketch of Swedenborg's Philosophical Works*, pp. 29-30.

and have the authority of the translator of the *Principia* with us, when we state our belief that it still belongs to the future. The following is a short account of the book from Mr. Clissold's Preface.

"The object of the *Principia* is to trace out a true system of the world, and in so doing the author has distributed his subject into Three Parts. The First Part treats of the origin and laws of motion, and is mostly devoted to the consideration of its first principles; which are investigated philosophically, then geometrically; their existence being traced from a first natural point down to the formation of a solar vortex, and afterwards from the solar vortex to the successive constitution of the elements and of the three kingdoms of nature. From the first element to the last compound it is the author's object to shew that effort or conatus to motion tends to a spiral figure; and that there is an actual motion of particles constituting a solar chaos, which is spiral and consequently vortical.

"In the Second Part the author applies this theory of vortical motion to the phenomena of Magnetism, by which on the one hand he endeavours to test the truth of his principles, and on the other by application of the principles to explain the phenomena of Magnetism; the motion of the magnetical effluvia being as in the former case considered to be vortical.

"In the Third Part the author applies the same principles of motion to Cosmogony, including the origination of the planetary bodies from the sun, and their vortical revolutions until they arrived at their present orbits; likewise to the constitution and laws of the different elements, the motions of all which are alleged to be vortical; likewise to the constitution and laws of the three kingdoms of nature, the animal, vegetable, and mineral; so that the entire *Principia* aims to establish a true theory of vortices, founded upon a true system of corpuscular philosophy."

In this work then the author applies an active geometry to the mundane system, carrying the conception of a spiral or breathing movement down the stairway of natural being, and showing the productions and evolution of the motion in its various spheres; thereby accounting, on a single principle, for the properties of atoms, as of universes; and piercing the generative process of worlds by the same law that beholds their actual state. The geometrical method is evidently one way of passing from the known to the unknown, that is to say, of reasoning by analogy; although it may be doubted whether this method is sufficiently living to suggest all the analogies of the case: however, we can hardly question that it is the *ultima ratio* of other methods. It was, indeed, fertile in Swedenborg's hands; nay, his primitive idea of a spiral effort is of vegetable-organic power; it evokes the mundane tree of the Scandinavian mythology, puts it into science, and enables it to bear atmospheres and auras for leaves and flowers and sun and multitudinous planet as fruits upon its all-spreading and all-shadowing boughs. Nevertheless it may be that an approach to the subject directly founded upon man and organization as both principle and method, will lead to a deeper admission into world-making, and account more intelligibly for the distribution of the system, bringing home its reasons to the doors of all; which can never be done by the geometrical procedure. Spirality, however, is in the basement-idea of *breathing*, as breathing again is the foundation or ultimate of Spirit and influx and Divine Inspiration.

In spite of the signal piety displayed throughout the *Principia*, the work was prohibited by the Papal authority in 1739, because, as Mr. Clissold thinks, it was held to contravene the position that God created all things out of nothing; and also because of the difficulty of reconciling such a process of creation as

Swedenborg conceives with the literal interpretation of the First Chapter of Genesis. Respecting the first reason, Mr. Clissold keenly remarks, that "no definition is more common than that *truth is that which is*; hence in a corresponding sense, untruth, error or falsehood is that which *is not*, and consequently that which is the genuine nonentity—or *nothing*. Upon this ground, to say that God created all things out of *nothing*, is to attribute the origin of all things to error and hence to evil." But leaving this destructive dialectic, which marches a decisive moral truth through the cold intellectualism of *nothing*, and burns it down, we resume our narrative of Swedenborg's works.

At Dresden and Leipsic, in the same year (1734) with the volumes we have just described, he published also *Outlines of a Philosophical Argument on the Infinite*,* a small work dedicated to his brother-in-law, then Bishop Eric Benzeliuss, who, he tells us in a dedication to that prelate, had been the first, by his advice and wishes, to direct the author's attention to that and similar subjects. Swedenborg had previously held some private polemics of an interesting nature with the friendly Bishop, in which the former had certainly the best of the argument, and he now brought the fruit of more mature study to the notice of his old correspondent. The work may be regarded as in a measure a supplement to the *Principia*, following a similar method with that Treatise;† for the Author here also proceeds from the common conceptions of the finite and infinite, and of the soul and the body, to construct a system of relations which he afterwards applied to the facts of Revelation, and thus

* *Outlines of a Philosophical Argument on the Infinite, and the Final Cause of Creation; and on the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body.*

† The reader who desires a further account of the *Outlines* will find a summary of the work in our *Popular Sketch*, pp. 19-24.

again imbeds the abstract world of truth in the real. What we said of the method of the *Principia* applies equally to the *Outlines*. It is doubtful whether geometrical conceptions furnish the best beginning for a system of the outward universe; it is equally, or rather, much more doubtful, whether metaphysical conceptions are the best commencement for an explanation of either psychology or Scripture. But Swedenborg was before his age in daring to bring any department of the mind in contact with these real subjects; and with respect to the present field, it is one which he cultivated thenceforth, again and again, by method after method. So that we need not censure his process until we have sufficiently admired his progress.

Sandels affirms that during the printing of the above works at Dresden and Leipsic, Swedenborg "visited the mines of Austria and Hungary, a journey which lasted a year." Of this journey, however, we are doubtful, for the author himself makes no mention of it, but states, on the contrary, that he went from Leipsic to Cassel, inspecting the mines in that Dutchy, and then hastened homewards through Gotha, Brunswick and Hamburg, by Ystad to Stockholm, where he arrived in July, 1734, at the time when the States General were in session; an important period, when a new code of laws was adopted in Sweden, and when probably our author took his seat in the House to which he belonged. He, therefore (p. 28), could not have spent a year as Sandels relates, and indeed there is nothing to show that he had visited Austria or Hungary. On his outward journey, however, he had been at Prague, and spent a considerable time in examining the Bohemian mines.

The publication of the preceding works gave him a European reputation, and his correspondence was eagerly sought by Christian Wolff, and others of the learned. In 1734, Dec. 17, the Imperial Academy

of Sciences of Petersburg appointed him a corresponding Member. At this time he was a diligent student of Wolff's philosophy, in which he discerned considerable similarity to his own, though the reader observes in Swedenborg an original power of which there is not a glimmer in Wolff. The difference between them lay not so much in their first conceptions, or even in the order and method of these, as in the facility with which Swedenborg applied his mind to, and modified it by, nature, for his genius was docile; while on the other hand, Wolff remained always a spinner of ingenuities and conceptions: yet even in subtlety of thought Swedenborg is immeasurably the superior: witness his theory of what he terms the "actives" in nature, his explanation of elasticity, etc.; things to which Wolff could make no approach. The one was a facile metaphysician after the school of Leibnitz; the other was a philosophical scientific explorer, ready to make temporary use of any metaphysic that opened a gate into facts, but always deriving from those facts a different statement of his grounds. The works of the one are all "thinking;" in those of the other we come constantly to solid floors, and are forced to exclaim, "*That* is nature herself, and no man made it."

From 1734 to 1736 our author remained in Sweden. On the 26th of July, 1735, he lost the good Bishop, his father, from whom, according to Robsahm, he inherited a considerable sum; and, on the 10th of July, 1736, he again "went abroad for a sojourn of *three or four years*, to write and publish a certain work," as he says in his journal* of the tour. On this occasion, he relinquished half of his salary (1200 silver dollars was the whole) to his substitutes, but re-entered upon the full income when

* *Itinerarium*, ex operibus EMAN. SWEDENBORGHII posthumis. Pars II. Nunc primum edidit Dr. J. F. I. Tafel. Stuttgard, 1844.

he came back. The same fresh curiosity, the same ardent love of knowledge, the same manifold sympathy, appear in the note-book of these travels, as in that which we have previously mentioned, and we can only regret that any portion of so entertaining a document is lost. He passed through Denmark, Hanover and Holland, and arrived at Rotterdam at the time of the fair, when he took due opportunity to admire the amusements of the people, mountebanks, shows, and whatever was to be seen. Then immediately afterwards come his reflections upon the prosperity of the Dutch. "Here at Rotterdam," says he, "it has suggested itself to me to enquire, why it is that God has blessed a people so barbarous and boorish as the Dutch, with such a fertile and luxuriant soil; that He has rescued them for so long a course of years from all misfortunes; that He has raised them up in commerce above all other nations, and made their provinces the mart and emporium of the wealth of Europe and the world. On consideration, the first and principal cause of these circumstances appears to be, that Holland is a Republic, which form of government is more pleasing to God than an absolute monarchy; as we may see from the history of Rome. In a Republic, no veneration or worship is paid to any man, but the highest and the lowest think themselves equal to kings and emperors; as may be seen from the characteristic bearing of every one in Holland. The only one whom they worship is God. And when God alone is worshipped, and men are not adored instead of Him, such worship is most acceptable to Him. Then, again, in Holland there is the greatest liberty. None are slaves, but all are as lords and masters under the government of the most high God, and the consequence is, that they do not depress their manliness either by shame or fear, but always preserve a firm and sound mind in a sound body; and with a free spirit and an erect countenance,

commit themselves and their property to God, who alone ought to govern all things. It is not so in absolute monarchies, where men are educated to simulation and dissimulation; where they learn to have one thing concealed in the breast, and to bring forth another upon the tongue; where their minds, by inveterate custom, become so false and counterfeit, that in divine worship itself their words differ from their thoughts, and they proffer their flattery and deceit to God Himself, which certainly must be most displeasing to Him. This seems to be the reason why the Dutch are more prosperous in their undertakings than other nations. But their worshipping Mammon as a Deity, and caring for nothing but gold, is a thing which is not compatible with long prosperity. Yet perhaps there are ten in a thousand, or ten thousand, who avert the punishment, and cause the rest to participate with them in the abundance and blessings of this life."

On his journey from Antwerp to Brussels by *treckschuyt* (the canal boats of the Netherlands), he had among his fellow-passengers two barefoot Franciscan friars, one of whom stood in one spot for four hours, praying devoutly all the time; upon which Swedenborg remarks; "This custom of praying is doubtless well pleasing to God, if it proceed from a true and faithful veneration, and from a pure mind, and not from simulation and hypocrisy, as with the Pharisees. Prayer avails much, as we know from the instance of Moses when his people were rebellious, as well as from other examples. Paul was also desirous that others should pray for him."

Our author paid great attention throughout to the state and ordinances of the Roman Catholic church, and in no carping spirit; yet he noted with strong animadversion the sensuality of the priests, over and above what was needed to lead the minds of populations manageable only through the senses. "The

monks," says he, "at Roze are fat and corpulent, and an army of such fellows might be banished without loss to the state. They fill their bellies, take all they can get, and give the poor nothing but fine words and blessings; and yet they are willing to take from the poor all their substance for nothing. What is the good of barefoot Franciscans?" On the 4th of September he arrived at Paris, in which city he spent a year and a half. Of Paris he says, "that pleasure, or more properly speaking, sensuality appears to be there carried to its possible summit." His mind at this time was directed to the general state of France, and his auguries are sagacious. "It is found," he observes, "that the tax which they term the 'tenths' ('*dixième*') yields annually 32 millions sterling; and that Paris on account of its rents contributes nearly two-thirds of that sum. In the remote provinces the impost is not in general fairly paid, because the people make false returns. One-fifth of the whole possessions of the kingdom is in the hands of the ecclesiastical order. If this condition of things last long, the ruin of the empire will be speedy." We cannot but think of the most terrible page of modern history, when we read these quiet lines of Swedenborg.

From France he went into Italy, and spent a year (1738-39) at Venice and Rome. On his journey from Novara to Milan he was in some danger from a *vetturino*,* who every now and then paraded his stiletto, which Swedenborg quietly parried by persuading the man that he had no money on his person. His note-book of this tour shows that he was occupied with investigating the modern institutions, as well as the remains of antiquity, in the various Italian cities.

He nowhere informs us what the work was that he had gone abroad to write and publish. In 1736,

* The *vetturino* is a functionary in Italian travelling, who undertakes at once to convey and provide for the traveller.

while at Paris, we find him meditating a treatise to prove that "the soul of wisdom lies in the acknowledgment and knowledge of the Deity;" and on the next day a second treatise, setting forth that "it is now time to proceed from facts to the exploration of nature." On another occasion he tells us that he is working at the outlines of a book, "*De auris in genere*,"* on the atmospheres in general; which shows that he was still pondering on the subjects treated in the *Principia*; and further, on Oct. 4, 1736, after recording a visit to the Tuilleries gardens, he adds, "My walk was exceedingly pleasant to-day; I was meditating on the forms of the particles in the atmospheres." Again on the 9th of August, 1738, at Venice, he says that he "has completed his work:" and here his own mention of his labours ceases in this journal.

It appears to be certain, that in this year on his way from Italy, he was at Leipsic, where he put forth a kind of sonnet in honour of the centenary of printing. But wherever he next travelled, (for his journal terminates abruptly at Genoa on the 17th of March, 1739,) it appears that his *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* was the work that he wrote during this tour. It will be recollected that in the middle of 1736 he had gone abroad for three or four years of literary labour; now the First Part of the *Economy* appeared in 1740. A number of small MS. treatises lately published,† were the outlines of this work, and were probably written early in these travels. The end of his studies, as we shall soon discover, was a knowledge of the soul; but for long he was doubtful how to

* This Itinerary was written in Swedish, but has been elegantly translated into Latin by Dr. Achatius Kahl of Lund, and edited by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel. The original MS. is difficult to decipher.

† *Posthumous Tracts.*

approach it. At first he began from the philosophical side,* after a rather wordy trial of which, he came gradually round to the anatomical, and at length rose upwards from the bodily structure by a purely inductive process. It is most probable that he deposited the MS. of the *Economy* at Amsterdam, on his way from Leipsic to Sweden in 1740; that he lived in his own country from 1740 or 1741 till 1744, and in the latter year came again to Holland, and from thence went to England, where we meet him in 1745. To these conjectures we are helped by his publications.

We have now then to record that in 1740-1 he published in 4to at Amsterdam his *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*,†—a large work in which our courageous miner sunk a shaft into the deep veins of the organic sciences.

Probably it was on his return to his own country that he became a Fellow, by invitation, of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, then first incorporated by a charter from the Crown, though founded as a private association by Linnæus and a few friends in 1739. "He was a worthy member," says Sandels, "of this Royal Academy; and though before his admission into it he had been engaged with subjects different from those which it cultivates, yet he was not willing to be a useless associate. He enriched our memoirs with an article *On inlaid work in marble for tables, and for ornamental purposes generally*." This memoir (in Swedish) may be seen in the Transactions of the Academy for 1763, vol. xxiv., pp. 107-113.

We must now spend a few moments in tracing his advent to the animal kingdom, under which title he exclusively signified the human body.

At the outset of his studies he lets us know in an early letter, that he had come to a "determination to

* See his Preface to the *Posthumous Tracts*.

† *The Economy of the Animal Kingdom, considered Anatomically, Physically, and Philosophically*.

penetrate from the very cradle to the maturity of nature"—from the atoms of chemistry to the atoms of astronomy—from the smallest groups to the largest—from the molecular to the universal: and this determination, which hitherto impelled him along the varied line of physics, now took wings, and combining with a higher nature, carried him into the realms of organization. He had touched upon this region many times in the course of his physical preamble, but gently and modestly, and as it were with pausing footsteps. In the *Miscellaneous Observations* he had admired the facile circulation of the blood in the capillaries. In a manuscript of about the same date he entered at considerable length into a doctrine of the membranes, and followed to a certain extent the same track as Hartley afterwards in his famous scheme of vibrations. In the *Principia* he had laid down the law, that the human frame is an organism respondent to the vibrations and powers of all the mundane elements; that there is membrane and fluid within the body, beating time and keeping tune with airs and auras in the universe; that man and nature are coördinate in the anatomical sphere; that the body is one vast instinct acting according to the circumstances of the external world. In the *Outlines* this correspondence is re-asserted in a masterly style, and moreover the human body is opened somewhat as a machine whose utter wisdom harmonizes with God alone, and leads right minds to God: but in all these works the author's deductions are close to facts, comparatively timid, and limited to the service in each instance of the particular argument in hand. Yet it is easy to see from all, that he was laboriously wending his way from the first to the temple of the body, at whose altar he expected to find the soul, as the priest of the Most High God.

It is evident that his studies for compassing this object were of no common intensity. He made

himself intimately acquainted with the works of the best anatomists of his own and preceding ages, and transcribed from their pages the descriptions suited to his purpose, forming what was in fact a manuscript encyclopædia for his own use. He made a note-book also of the technical terms of the sciences; and laboured to be before his age in the *conveniences* of a scholar, as he was assuredly before it in the wants of his mind. We do not know to what extent he was a practical anatomist; he informs us that he had made use of the dissecting room; and it is said that he attended the instructions of Boerhaave* at the same time as the elder Monro; the authority for which is however only traditional. Be this as it may, it is plain that Swedenborg derived his knowledge of the body chiefly from plates and books; though assuredly he was one who lost no opportunity of pursuing his subject in the best way. We therefore conclude that he gained what experience he could by dissection, but relied in the main on the facts supplied by the accredited authorities, as hopeless to exceed these in accuracy, also as being more impartial over the data supplied by others, and, moreover, as feeling his own vocation to lie rather in the interpretation, than in the collection, of phenomena.

From 1741 to 1744, Swedenborg appears to have devoted himself entirely to the study of the human frame; indeed, when we consider the quantity of works and manuscripts which he has left on the subject, it is difficult to suppose otherwise than that his principal attention was directed to it from the time of the publication of his Philosophical and Mineral works,—a period of 11 years to 1744. In 1744-5 he published his *Animal Kingdom** in 4to, Parts I. and II. at the Hague, Part III. in London,

* Boerhaave died at Leyden in 1737.

† *The Animal Kingdom, considered Anatomically, Physically, and Philosophically.*

but his habits and sojournings at this period there are no data to show. How he managed to be absent from his Assessorship, where he studied, whom he conversed with, what sympathies he enjoyed, or whether he worked with only his great cause over his head, are points which we do not know. We shall, therefore, give a brief general account of his contributions to philosophical anatomy, including under our remarks the whole of his treatises in this department.

The Economy of the Animal Kingdom treats of the blood and the organs which contain it, of the coincidence between the movements of the brain and lungs; and of the human soul; *The Animal Kingdom*, of the organs of the abdomen, of those of the chest, and of the skin. The descriptions of the best anatomists are admirably selected as a basis of fact for each chapter, and prefixed thereto, after which follows the author's induction or theory, and next a comment upon it illustrated by the previous facts. The method obviously is, to state and study the facts first; thus to elicit from them a vintage of first principles; and then to keep and refine this wine of truths within the vessels of the facts, amplifying it wherever possible to the unfilled capacity of the latter. It is difficult to conceive a more excellent method for philosophical anatomy, or one which keeps the stages of truth-making more distinct, or more profitable to each other. There is one vessel which is all facts; there is a second which is all principles; there is a third in which the two come together, and the principles suggest new experiments, and the facts enlarged principles. The method is a little image of the grand circulation of the sciences, from facts or confused general truths, through universal truths, to particular or clear general truths. There is not one of such truths but becomes a fact before the method has done with it.

In the works we are considering, as indeed in all that Swedenborg wrote, there is an unconcealed belief from the first in God and His providence, and such a belief as results, not from meditation only, or from sceptical second thought, but from the religious atmosphere of Christendom. On this head our author was a child to the end of his days, and never questioned the earliest instructions which he had received from his father and mother, whom he honoured to the extent of believing, that thought can never begin *ab origine*, as though it had no human parentage. He knew that every truth and mental possession has its genealogy, which it can no more deny or question with propriety, than we ourselves can dispense with our natural ancestry; by proceeding from whom we start from the vantage ground of previous manhood, and may be originators in our line, instead of fruitlessly repeating the past of creation for each fresh individual. Especially did he know that no Christian man can, without sheer impuissance, begin out of Christianity. Accordingly Swedenborg took full advantage of the religion of his time, and the belief in a personal God was with him the fountain of sciences, which alone allowed a finite man to discover in nature the wisdom that an infinite man had planted there. Nothing is more plain than that only in so far as man is the image of God, and can think like God, can he give the reason of anything that God has made. Not to admit then a personal God is to deny the grounds of natural knowledge, to make it what the philosophers call subjective, that is to say, true for *you*, but not God's truth or true in itself.

It was, however, Swedenborg's avowed aim to lead the sceptic to an acknowledgment of God through the wisdom of God in nature; and, for this purpose, he did not begin by himself postponing and denying God, but by a plenary acknowledgment, as the door

into the secret parts of nature where the divine wisdom is enthroned. This constituted the providence of God as the order of nature, which order was now to be unfolded. What are the great outlines of our knowledge of order? Arrangement, distribution, hierarchy, likeness, relation, fitness, law, and other terms, are expressions of what we mean by order. To look, then, for and from order in nature, is to look from and for these various demarcations and conjunctions; in Swedenborg's words, it is to look from the principle of series, by which nature moves in rows, lines, or regiments,—from the principle of degrees, by which everything is in its own rank, and knows its place,—from the principle of association, whereby friendly and mutually-helpful substances and things are near each other, and work for each other,—from the principle of forms, whereby nature descends down the stairs of excellence and universality, from vortex to spire, from spire to circle, and from circle to angle, and reascends by supersinuations from the earth to the sun, and from the mineral to man,—from the principle of influx or influence, according to which not physical force alone is power, but every ray of purpose and intention is communicated from every side, and from above to below, and received and acted upon,—from the principle of correspondence and representation, whereby all fitness comes; fitness of the body to the soul, and *vice versâ*, as being both the same thing in different spheres; fitness of man to nature; fitness of man to man, and of nature to nature, and of all good things to God; and, as the corollary of this fitness, a conjunction of all the fellow works and fellow workers into one grand unity, which is reality and creation, the solid and universal order, the whole being consummated in the idea of organization or truth. Such was Swedenborg's analysis of our current knowledge of order, as the instrument of God's doings, and of man's discoveries and imitations

which are the sciences and the arts. To this was added what he termed the Doctrine of Modification, which recognizes the manner in which vital and other vibrations permeate the world; in which the Word of God and the words of man—in which all expressions, whether looks, voices, acts, or things—make their way through the universe, and infect with their own life and powers the system and its parts: speech and the modifications of the air being the ready symbol of this general converse and parliament of the beings and creatures, wherein the laws are resumed according to the interests of the whole.

Swedenborg did not then attempt to enter the body either abruptly or without assistance, but only after gathering up all his mind, and marshalling his forces, from the first generalizations in which every childhood is fruitful down to the last which his maturity supplied. He advanced, in fact, under all the discipline and with all the machinery and strategy of his age and of his own genius, and with the name of the God of Battles and the Prince of Peace distinctly emblazoned on his tranquil banners. There is something really hushing and imposing in the measured tread of his legions, in the formal music which drills the air where his staff of general truths is in the field, and in the absence of passion in so firm a host advancing to such important conquests.

"I intend to examine," says he, "physically and philosophically, the whole anatomy of the body; of all its viscera, abdominal and thoracic; of the genital members of both sexes; and of the organs of the five senses. Likewise,

"The anatomy of all parts of the cerebrum, cerebellum, medulla oblongata, and spinal marrow.

"Afterwards, the cortical substance of the two brains, and their medullary fibre; also the nervous fibre of the body, and the muscular fibre, and the causes of the forces and motion of the whole organism:

Diseases, moreover, those of the head particularly, or which proceed by defluxion from the brain.

"I purpose afterwards to give an introduction to Rational Psychology, consisting of certain new doctrines, through the assistance of which we may be conducted from the material organism of the body, to a knowledge of the soul which is immaterial: these are, the Doctrine of Forms; the Doctrine of Order and Degrees; also, the Doctrine of Series and Society; the Doctrine of Influx; the Doctrine of Correspondence and Representation; lastly, the Doctrine of Modification.

"From these doctrines I come to the rational psychology itself, which will comprise the subjects of action, of external and internal sense, of imagination and memory, also of the affections of the animus; of the intellect, that is to say, of thought and the will; and of the affections of the rational mind; also of instinct.

"Lastly of the soul, and of its state in the body, its intercourse, affection, and immortality; and of its state when the body dies. The work to conclude with a Concordance to Systems.

"From this summary or plan, the reader may see that the end I propose to myself in the work, is a knowledge of the soul; since this knowledge will constitute the crown of my studies. This, then, my labours intend, and thither they aim. . . . In order therefore to follow up the investigation, and to solve the difficulty, I have chosen to approach by the analytic way; and I think I am the first who has taken this course professedly.

"To accomplish this grand end I enter the circus, designing to consider and examine thoroughly the whole world or microcosm which the soul inhabits; for I think it is in vain to seek her anywhere but in her own kingdom. . . .

"When my task is accomplished, I am then

admitted by common consent to the soul, who sitting as a queen on her throne of state, the body, dispenses laws, and governs all things by her good pleasure, but yet by order and by truth. This will be the crown of my toils, when I shall have completed my course in this most spacious arena. But in olden time, before any racer could merit the crown, he was commanded to run seven times round the goal, which also I have determined here to do.

"I am, therefore, resolved to allow myself no respite, until I have run through the whole field to the very goal, or until I have traversed the universal animal kingdom to the soul. Thus I hope, that by bending my course inwards continually, I shall open all the doors that lead to her, and at length contemplate the soul herself: by the divine permission."

One of his MSS.* again places these designs in a clear light. "I have gone through this anatomy," says he, "with the single end of investigating the soul. It will be a satisfaction to me if my labours be of any use to the anatomical and medical world, but a still greater satisfaction if I afford any light towards the investigation of the soul." The whole course of the sciences, he observes, has aimed at this effect. "The learned world has striven hither without any exception; for what else has it attempted, than the ability to speak from general principles, and to act synthetically on the lower sphere; such however is angelic perfection, such is heavenly science; such also was the first natural science, and such ambition is therefore innate in ourselves; thus we too strain towards the integrity of our first parent, who concluded from principles to all effects, and not only saw universal nature beneath him, but commanded its subject spheres." All science by this account is the way back to a divine magic and a spiritual seership.

* Published by Dr. Tafel as the Seventh Part of *The Animal Kingdom*.

"Hence," he adds, "our mighty interest in attaining to principles of truth." He concludes by avowing, that "he knows he shall have the reader's ear, if the latter be only persuaded that his end is God's glory and the public good, and not his own gain or praise."

His object then was, to open a new way through natural knowledge to religious faith, and to transfer to Christianity the title-deeds of the sciences.

We have said enough, however, of his preparations; it is time to speak of what he accomplished. And still, in treating of such a genius, we must guard the reader against supposing that he was bound to his own stated method, to the fettering of his powers. The extraordinary flexibility with which he handled his rules, constituted a new and inimitable *regime* presiding over them all, and which gave him the benefit of liberty in addition to the benefits of law. In his mind, formality and freedom went hand in hand, and strengthened each other by a perpetual procreation of new rules, interpretation of old, and the eruption of fresh liberty at every exigency or circumstance not provided for in his code. Truth rose on his path as an ever broadening constitution.

But did he, or not, arrive at the soul by the aid of the general doctrines we have particularized, and which seemed to be the ladder that the soul let down to whoso would ascend to her secret chambers? He came, instead, to the inner parts of the living body, but not to the soul. It was an achievement to dissect the body alive without injuring it, nay with its own concurrence; to disintegrate brain, lungs, heart, and vitals, and to see them as individuals, as partial men; so to endow them with the whole frame, that they could subsist to the mind as human creatures; and this Swedenborg has done to a considerable extent: but to see the soul, or the spiritual body, was not accorded to him at this stage. The doctrine of correspondence might have shown it; but

then before correspondence works there must be two experimental terms, two visible things; the soul must be already seen, after which, correspondence will show its fitness with the body, and illustrate each by each. In a word, sight or experience is the basis of knowledge; the invisible is the unknown, and no doctrines can realize it, or honestly bring it near to our thoughts. It rests upon Swedenborg's confession, not less than upon his quitting the aforementioned track, that his principles so far did not and could not lead him to an acquaintance with the soul.

But if, whilst engaged upon an impossible quest, he remained among nervous and spirituous fluids and the like entities, which are most real, only not the soul, still he shed surprising light upon the plan and life of the human body. His method was eminently good for this. The doctrines he worked with, the preliminaries he believed in, are the common sense of all plans and organizations. Whoever makes or constitutes anything, does it by spontaneous obedience to these very laws: whoever works successfully, works through the doctrine of forms, whereby form corresponds to function, and invites its own corresponding movement or life; through series and order, whereby arrangement enters, and superiority in material, design, and so forth, has an intimate favour shown it, and governs the lower parts; through degrees, whereby step over step is measured and laid; through association,—viz., of the kindred parts with each other; through modification, whereby the play of circumstances has channels laid down in the work contemplated, through which the world-power flows, and is turned to use:—not to particularize Swedenborg's wheels of method more precisely. Now then, these ubiquitous laws are the life, or in the life, of our minds; and applied to the body, they put therein the only life which we, at second hand, can give it—the life of imagination, fancy, thought, passion;

bestowing upon it a theatric scientific vitality, beyond which mere science cannot go; for science deals with cleverly galvanized puppets after all—with animated machines; it subsists by a life from without, and is not itself the complete man to whom brains and pulsing heart are a divine right in his inside.

In broad terms, it may be stated, that Swedenborg has thus animated the human body with the outermost circle of common sense reduced to formulas, to which he has added from his own unconfined experience a very large amount of life of a description unaccounted for by his doctrines; borrowing vitality every now and then, Prometheus-like, from a wider sphere than that of his own philosophy,—in short, from the next human body, or the social man. Immeasurably high as he stands in comparison with the anatomists, we regard his unconsciousness of the social world as a life-giver to the corporeal, as the lacuna of his philosophical works. For if life is to be brought to the body *ab extra*, why not take it from the vast reservoir of our daily experience,—from home, friends, country, and the world, and carrying it by the chalice of analogy, pour it through all convenient doctrines into that empty shell of the anatomists? If order is the unlocking of that hide-bound place, why not take the order from our own growth and ages,—from that which opens us for life after life? If series and degrees, why rest in mineral thoughts, and why not draw upon those manifest series, dispositions and ranks, that exist in our communities? If life is to come to the body, why not go directly for it to the great motives which sway the world, and which are both individual and social? If influx or influence, why disregard the influence of man upon man in the collective and general spheres? In short, why not get enlivenment from LIFE as we all understand and speak of it day by day? This it is which glitters from all eyes about our path, and bathes and surrounds us;

this runs through our frames, and stirs our muscles doubly moved by our own and the general will; this penetrates through our thickest skins, and warms our hearts with their strongest fires: in the light of this we are all anatomized into vitals larger than ourselves, cut from the texture of our extended lifetime, and our secret souls are placed under our eyes, and still more under the world's. It is indeed strange that in these doctrines of Swedenborg, there was no doctrine of life, no conduit whereby the main essence could run into the dead carcass. And yet life is what we best understand, and death is what wants most explaining. But the truth is, that to have proceeded so far as this, Swedenborg—necessarily ignorant of the spiritual world and its sciences, like all in his day—must have taken his general doctrines from new fields, which, at that time, was impossible.

Thus, however, it is, that a living anatomy grows up. The first life, faint yet beautiful, comes from the first perceptions of life in humanity and consequently in philosophy; from the formulas derived from our infantile experience; from the child's ideas of order, which are the boundary of philosophy.* The second and subsequent lives upon which anatomy can enter, arise from subsequent perceptions of life as exemplified in our social and hence new individual relations; and the wisdom or last life of the science,

* These philosophical formulas are, for example, the simple abstractions of end, cause, and effect; the axioms that "substances are the subjects of all predicates;" that the "general includes the particular;" that substance and form are inseparable; and the like. Swedenborg carried these ideas through certain provinces of nature, and enriched them with reality. This is the way to one order of the philosophical sciences, but this method alone is not powerfully analytic, because the above abstractions being themselves deficient in intrinsic nature, your instrument of analysis is single and indivisible; it may and does produce arrangement, but it is general itself, and only capable of arranging generals, but by no means particular and coloured things.

lies in the transplanting of our religious life, or our relation to God, into the bodily fabric. The body already contains all these lives, because it contains ourself; but not consciously until the sciences have put them into the dead body, and resuscitated it. Swedenborg has then only treated his subject anatomically, physically, and philosophically; or first in its dead truth; secondly in its relations with the physical universe, which sways it with motion as the herald of vitality; thirdly, as possessing our common sense in the lowest degree: but furthermore it requires to be treated humanly, socially and spiritually. Be it admitted, however, that in his triple method, Swedenborg had already raised to the cube the sciences of the body which the anatomists had left at the plane degree, and had thereby facilitated the next steps to be taken.

His observations or facts are as superior to the ordinary foundations as his method is better than the procedures which are still in vogue. His power of remark is more physiognomical than in any previous writer with whom we are acquainted. Other collectors of facts rushed at once into dissection and violence, and broke through the speaking face of things in their impatience. He, on the other hand, proceeded cautiously and tenderly, and only cut the skin when he had exhausted its looks and expressions, conversing first with the face, then with other parts of the surface, and at last with the inner inexpressive parts, the poor dumb creatures which were the sole company of the anatomists. He was the most grandly superficial writer who had then arisen,—a rare qualification in its good sense, and which gives the benefit of travel to the sciences, enabling them to take liberal views of their materials; a qualification, moreover, which is the preparative for depth, for the whole surface alone leads to the centre, and when complete is itself an apparent sphere, the most perfect of scientific forms.

Accordingly when Swedenborg goes upwards or inwards he is guided to the sun, or the core, by myriads of rays from the translucent skin, and ubiquitous fingers invite and beacon him into the depths. Such is nature's privilege for those who beseech her permissions, and read the wishes of her broader lineaments.

In illustration of these remarks we have only space to allude to one fact and doctrine made use of by our author in the foregoing works, but that one is of the utmost value both in his system and history; we mean his doctrine of respiration. Let any reader think for a moment of what he experiences when he breathes, and attends to the act. He will find that his whole frame heaves and subsides at the time; face, chest, stomach, and limbs are all actuated by his respiration. His sense is, that not only his lungs but his entire body breathes. Here is a large surface of fact; the foundation-story of any doctrine of respiration. The most unlearned experience contains it as well as the most learned, and often much more vividly, for learning sometimes hinders the breath; the plethora of science and philosophy confines the heaving to the chest alone, and the learned puff and pant. Now mark what Swedenborg elicited from this fact, because he accepted it as a material for science. If the whole man breathes or heaves, so also do the organs which he contains, for they are necessarily drawn outwards by the rising of the surface; therefore they all breathe. What do they breathe? Two elements are omnipresent in them, the bloodvessels and the nerves, the one giving them pabulum, the other life. They draw then into themselves blood, and life or nervous spirit. Each does this according to its own form; each, therefore, has a free individuality like the whole man; each takes its food, the blood, when it chooses; each wills into itself the life, according to its desires. The man is made up of

manlike parts; his freedom is an aggregate of a host of atomic, organical freedoms. The heart does not cram them with its blood, but each, like the man himself, takes what it thinks right; the brain and nerves do not force upon them a heterogeneous life, but each kindles itself with appropriate life according to what it already has, and what it wants to have. There is character and individuality in every molecule; and the mind is properly built upon faculties analogous to its own, conferred upon material organs. It handles nature by the willing correspondence of nature in this high machine, with its own essential attributes. The body is a mind and soul of flesh.

But furthermore, thought commences and corresponds with respiration. The reader has before attended to the presence of the heaving over the body; now let him *feel his thoughts*, and he will see that they too heave with the mass. When he entertains a long thought, he draws a long breath; when he thinks quickly, his breath vibrates with rapid alternations; when the tempest of anger shakes his mind, his breath is tumultuous; when his soul is deep and tranquil, so is his respiration; when success inflates him, his lungs are as tumid as his conceits. Let him make trial of the contrary: let him endeavour to think in long stretches at the same time that he breathes in fits, and he will find that it is impossible; that in this case the chopping lungs will needs mince his thoughts. Now the mind dwells in the brain; and it is the brain, therefore, which shares the varying fortunes of the breathing. It is strange that this correspondence between the states of the brain or mind and the lungs has not been admitted in science, for it holds in every case, at every moment. In truth it is so unailing, and so near to the centre of sense, that this has made it difficult to regard it as an object; for if you only try to think upon the breathing, in consequence of the fixation of thought you stop the

breath that very moment, and only recommence it when the thought can no longer hold, that is to say, when the brain has need to expire. Now Swedenborg, with amazing observation and sagacity, has made a regular study of this ratio between the respiration and the thoughts and emotions: he shows in detail that the two correspond exactly, and moreover that their correspondence is one of the long-sought links between the soul and the body, whereby every thought is represented and carried out momentarily in the expanse of the human frame, which it penetrates by vicegerent motions or states. Thus, if the mind is tranquil, the body is similarly tranquil, and the two are at one, that is to say, *united*; if the mind is perturbed, the body is likewise so in the most exact similitude; if the mind loves what is high, the body looks to it and aspires to reach it; and while the two work for each other, that is to say, so long as health sufficient lasts, there *must* be connexion between them, or the all-knowing soul would not profit by its own tool, its very double in the world. It is difficult to give a more plain or excellent reason of the tie between the body and the soul, than that the latter finds the body absolutely to its mind; while, on the other hand, the living body clings to the soul, because it wants a friendly superior life to infuse and direct its life.

The power which Swedenborg possessed of watching his own breath, is not, as we hinted before, unconnected with his biography, but explains in a measure much of which he was the subject. For to note the respiration (we invite the reader to make the attempt) implies its gradual cessation, because of the fixed thought required. This cessation of the breath, to which our author was evidently used, involves, where it is persisted in, one of two things; either the passing into unconsciousness, where the thought cannot breathe without the lungs, or else, where this rare

condition is possible, the cessation of the pulmonary movements, the thought in the brain persisting the meanwhile, but without intercourse with the body, and taking cognisance no longer of the lower world, but of the cerebral or proximately spiritual state. The latter happens only where there is a more inward thought which endures when the outward is suspended. The management of the respiration then with some persons, or its similar ordinary habit in others, is one way to annul for the time that intercourse of the mind with the body which respiration establishes, and to enfranchise the mind in its own sphere. There can be no doubt that Swedenborg was peculiarly endowed in this respect, as we shall abundantly illustrate when we come to speak of the psychology of his seership.

But we must not forget that we are now treating of his contributions to science, of which we have recorded the above as among the most valuable, and as incalculable in its results both upon thought and practice. In stating, however, any one point as remarkable in such a genius, we are in danger of having it understood that his claims in this respect can be enumerated by any critic or biographer. On the contrary, we should have to write a volume were we barely to devote but a few lines to each detail of his excessive fruitfulness. Suffice it to say, that there is no inquirer into the human body, either for the purposes of medical or general intelligence, above all, there is no philosophical anatomist, who has done justice to himself, unless he has humbly read and studied—not turned over and conceitedly dismissed—the *Economy* and *Animal Kingdom* of Swedenborg. These works of course are past as records of anatomical fact, but in general facts that are bigger than anatomy, they have not been excelled, and none but a mean pride of science, or an inaptitude for high reasons, would deter the inquirer from the light he may here acquire,

in spite of meeting a few obsolete notions, or a few hundreds of incomplete experiments.

We are indeed free to admit that Swedenborg's tools have been handled and improved since his own time. The law of series, to which he attributed so much, has been set in a new light, and made into a machine of analogical power, by Charles Fourier, and analogy has been only too prolific in the hands of the German, Oken. The latter, we may remark, is all analogy, with no roots. The day of railroads has been preceded by railroads in thought, with all the excesses and expenses of their material types, and these mental iron ways are the analogies between different provinces of nature, whereby sciences, incommunicable hitherto as Japan or China, are now running into each other for mere lust of travel. But however rapid our mental touring, there are still towns in Swedenborg that have not been visited; a prudence in his transit that has not been sufficiently imitated; a motive in his journeys that will give life to their record when newer travellers succumb. A better method than his may perhaps now be employed, mainly because he himself has lived and thought; and in the meantime the observation of the man himself at this period is enduring and inimitable.

The reception of Swedenborg's natural philosophy by the world furnishes a negative event of some interest in his biography. So long as he confined himself to the practical sphere, his treatises met with a fair share of approval, both in his own country and throughout Europe; but the moment his own genius appeared, it consigned him, as we said at the outset, to temporary oblivion—a goal at which he arrived after passing through some preliminary opprobrium. *The Transactions of the Learned*, published at Leipsic, was not slow to discover his uncommon qualities, and to denounce them. In February, 1722, the reviewer said of his *Chemical Specimens*, "The author has

displayed great abilities and equal industry; but how far he has followed truth in his theories, let others decide." In 1735, in reviewing his *Outlines on the Infinite*, the same journal charged him with materialism. And in 1747, it gave a derisive notice of his *Animal Kingdom*, ending with the significant words: "So much for Swedenborgian dreams." These dreams however had not gone to their glorious limits then. Swedenborg kept pace with his reviewers in an opposite spirit. Thus he says at the close of *The Principia*: "In writing the present work, I have had no aim at the applause of the learned world, or the acquisition of a name or popularity. To me it is a matter of indifference whether I win the favourable opinion of every one or of no one, whether I gain much or no commendation; such things are not objects of regard to one whose mind is bent on truth and true philosophy; should I, therefore, gain the assent or approbation of others, I shall receive it only as a confirmation of my having pursued the truth. I have no wish to persuade any one to lay aside the principles of those illustrious and talented authors who have adorned the world, and in place of their principles to adopt mine. For this reason it is that I have not made mention so much as of one of them, or even hinted at his name, lest I should injure his feelings, or seem to impugn his sentiments, or to derogate from the praise which others bestow upon him. If the principles I have advanced have more of truth in them than those which are advocated by others; if they are truly philosophical and accordant with the phenomena of nature, the assent of the public will follow in due time of its own accord; and in this case, should I fail to gain the assent of those whose minds, being prepossessed by other principles, can no longer exercise an impartial judgment, still I shall have those with me who are able to distinguish the true

from the untrue, if not in the present, at least in some future age. Truth is unique, and will speak for itself. Should any one undertake to impugn my sentiments, I have no wish to oppose him; but in case he desire it, I shall be happy to explain my principles and reasons more at large. What need however is there of words? Let the thing speak for itself. If what I have said be true, why should I be eager to defend it?—surely truth can defend itself. If what I have said be false, it would be a degrading and silly task to defend it. Why then should I make myself an enemy to any one, or place myself in opposition to any one?" And again he observes in the *Economy*: "Of what consequence is it to me that I should persuade any one to embrace my opinions? Let his own reason persuade him. I do not undertake this work for the sake of honour or emolument; both of which I shun rather than seek, because they disquiet the mind, and because I am content with my lot: but for the sake of the truth, which alone is immortal, and has its portion in the most perfect order of nature; hence in the series of the ends of the universe from the first to the last, or to the glory of God; which ends He promotes: thus I surely know Who it is that must reward me." Of his sincerity in these declarations, the repose which pervades his books, and the hearty pursuit of his subject at all times, bear incontestable witness.

The absence of his laurels never troubled him, he was not afraid of pillage or plagiarism, there was none of the fire of competition in him, he was never soured by neglect, or disheartened by want of sympathy. It is, however, remarkable how entirely the foregoing works were unknown even to those who knew him best personally. His intimate friend Count Höpken says, that "he made surprising discoveries in anatomy, which are recorded somewhere in certain literary transactions," evidently in complete

ignorance of the great works that he had published, and moreover ill-informed upon the subject of the "Transactions." And yet Swedenborg was not mistaken in his estimate of his own powers, or in the belief that posterity had work and interest in store in writings that, at the time, were utterly neglected. The history of literature is eloquent upon the fate of those who were before their age, and that fate was never more decisive for any man than for Swedenborg, or more cheerfully acquiesced in by any than by him.

It is interesting to know the amount of learning possessed by those who have caused revolutions in thought or instituted empires in the arts, and especially so in the case of Swedenborg, who professed to build upon facts supplied by the past. Undoubtedly his learning was not so thorough as to lead to danger of mere scholarship: nay from long experience in editing his works, we pronounce his acquaintance with the ancients loose and inexact; and with more modern writers, (we speak principally of the anatomists,) undoubtedly wide and general, but by no means verbal and literal. Theory was his joy; and so strongly did he asseverate his main discoveries, that he often based them upon citations which will not bear their weight. His inattention, however, to metaphysical philosophy, and inability to heed or remember it, were the defences of that freedom which made him what he was. In this he is like other originators, who happily did not comprehend the details of that which they departed from; had they understood these in the way in which sympathy understands, it is probable that they would not have escaped in time from their systematic fascination. The same allegation has been made of Bacon, who they say would never have attacked Aristotle, had he appreciated him. It is very probable, and shows that a certain ignorance is a genial night when a new birth is to come. That which originates novelties is some new want,

and no merely intellectual quarrel with the past; hence, to this extent, the past cannot fairly be attended to.

In the same year as the third part of the *Animal Kingdom*, i.e., in 1745, Swedenborg published in London another work in two parts, *On the Worship and Love of God*.* We shall presently see that he was residing in London during this period, which became so important an era in his life. Of his sojourn and habits at the time we have no particulars, and hence our biographical course again enters upon a review of his work.

The Worship and Love of God is a centering of all that he had previously elicited from his studies, and an attempt moreover to carry them into another field. As the title prepares the reader to expect, it is an end in his scientific march. He began from God as the fountain of the sciences; the wisdom of creation was the desire and wisdom of his labours; and here he ended with his beginning, carrying God's harvest to God. Apparently he did not know that his literary life was closed, but stood amid the sheaves, contemplating the tillage of future years in the old domain; although trembling nevertheless in the presence of an undisclosed event. But we must not anticipate.

In *The Worship and Love of God*, Swedenborg gives an ornate scientific narrative of the creation of our solar system, dropping the mathematical form of *The Principia*, and telling the story of the world in a physical and pictorial strain. The method runs from the general to the universal, making use of nature as a vast tradition that speaks to those who understand her, of the whole past by the present. Thus as the sun is the material sustainer of the system, so this

* *The Worship and Love of God*; Part I. On the Origin of the Earth, on the state of Paradise in the Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms, and on the Birth, Infancy, and Love of Adam, or the first-born Man. Part II. On the Marriage of the First-born; and on the Soul, the Intellectual Mind, the state of Integrity, and the Image of God.

sustenance demonstrates a parental relation, and hence the sun was originally its material parent. Further, as all growth and springing take place in spring times, so the vernal seasons of all things point backwards to a primordial universal spring, the ocean of every rill of geniality, the germinal warmth of the world. This parentage with its conditions is unfolded—the conception and birth of the planets near the bosom of the sun, from his own body and substance; their incubation in the great egg of the universe; their exclusion therefrom, and their entry into space for themselves. The first kingdoms of nature are also described, and their difference from all others, for they were pregnant with all; moreover the general spring resulting from the nearness of the earth to the sun, and from the rapidity of its revolutions, whereby all the seasons were blended into one as their temperate and delightful mean, night also being melted into, and mingled through, day, as winter through summer. And as the mineral was parturient with the vegetable, and the vegetable with the animal, so the innermost of the vegetable, the tree of life, bore the transcendent ovum of our race, and there the infinite met the finite, and the first Adam was born. This concludes one department of the work. It will be seen that Swedenborg's is a theory of evolutive generation, extending to universes with their contents, and so far, not dissimilar in some respects to the theories founded upon recent geological and astronomical views. There reigns throughout it, however, a constant sense of the presence of the Creator who descends through all his work, (evolutive creation being His way of causation then,) and at last reappears beneath his work as above it, and of himself attaches it to himself through his final creature, man.

The remainder of the book is occupied with a description of the education of the first man, which

took place by spiritual ministrations ; and the second part is devoted to the creation of Eve, with her education, and marriage to Adam ; the whole being an allegory of a six days' work. It is noticeable that Adam, born an infant, is instructed in intellectual matters, and whatever conduces to wisdom, but Eve, in scientific truths, particularly those of the human frame, the brain and the living fibres ; somewhat in the reverse order of the present culture of the sexes. In both sexes, however, the spirit lessons are taught by delightful representation and scenework born of the plastic atmospheres ; and the novitiate mankind is raised to its feet, and eye after eye opened to the heaven above them, by sportive similar children fluttering around, and by attractive fruitage pendent over head from the motherly groves of Paradise.

Nothing can be more vernal than the earlier portion of the work ; the reader is guided deeper and deeper into a delicious embowerment, and treads the carpets of a golden age. Every clod and leaf, grove, stream, and a multitude of rejoicing inhabitants, all the dews, atmospheres, and skyey influences, the very stars of the firmament, busily minister with a latent love, and each with a native tact and understanding, to the coming heir of the world, the son of earth, the mind in a human form, who can look from the paradise of earth to the paradise of heaven, and venerate and adore the Creator, returning to God immortal thanks for himself and all things. At last in the central grove, in the most temperate region of the earth, where the woven bosage broke the heat of day, and so "induced a new spring under the general one ;" and where the gushing streamlets veined the area, and lifted by the sun in kindest vapours, hung upon the leaves, and descended in continual dews,—in this intimate temple of the general garden, lo, the tree of life, and the arboreal womb of the nascent human race. Truly a bold Genesis ; but the steps

that lead to it, though beautiful as sylvan alleys, are also of logical pavement, and the appreciating reader, for the time at any rate, is carried well pleased along in the flow and series of the strong-linked narrative.

The subsequent portion of the work is inferior in interest to the beginning ; less artistic and more didactic ; certain abstractions which are difficult to embody, wisdoms, intelligences, and the like demi-persons, are among the actors in the drama. It reminds one, though in an elevated *ratio*, of tales of the genii, for there is something inhuman about all that is more or less than human, and wisdoms and intelligences come under one or the other designation. Moreover the instructions of these ambiguous agencies are rather prolix, and their dogmatism is occasionally obscure. It is in the philosophical narrative that Swedenborg has shown truly surprising powers which we may challenge literature to surpass : so far as this extends, the work is a limpid and running inspiration ; for the rest, it is an expectant day-dream of his theology, abundant in charming details, and crowded with significance.

We have now concluded a rapid survey of this part of the Swedenborg library, and we will say a few words on the author's style. We find increased life in this respect as we proceed with his works. The style of *The Principia* is clear, felicitous, though somewhat repetitious, and occasionally breaks forth into a beautiful but formal eloquence. The ancient mythology lends frequent figures to the scientific process, and the author's treatment would seem to imply his belief that in the generations of the gods, there was imbedded a hint of the origin of the world. Occasionally subjects of unpromising look are invested with sublime proportions, as when he likens the mathematical or natural point to a "two-faced Janus, which looks on either side toward either universe, both into infinite and into finite immensity."

The manner of the *Outlines on the Infinite* is not dissimilar to that of *The Principia*, only less elaborate, and somewhat more round and liberal. The style of *The Economy*, however, displays the full courtliness of a master,—free, confident, confiding; self-complacent, but always aspiring; at home in his thoughts, though voyaging through untravelled natures; then most swift in motion onwards when most at rest in some great attainment; not visibly subject to second thoughts, or to the devil's palsy of self-approbation; flying over great sheets of reason with easy stretches of power; contradicting his predecessors point-blank, without the possibility of offending their honoured *manes*: in these and other respects the style of *The Economy* occupies new ground of excellence. The latter portion of the work particularly, "On the Human Soul," is a sustained expression of the loftiest order, and in this respect won the commendations of Coleridge, who was no bad judge of style. And Emerson says well of this particular work, that "it is an honour to human nature." *The Animal Kingdom*, however, is riper, rounder, and more free than even the last-mentioned work; more intimately methodical, and at the same time better constructed. The treatises on the organs, themselves correspondently organic, are like stately songs of science dying into poetry; it is surprising how so didactic a mind carved out the freedom and beauty of these epic chapters. It is the same with *The Worship and Love of God*, the ornament in which is rich and flamboyant, but upborne on the colonnades of a living forest of doctrines. We observe then, upon the whole, this peculiarity, that Swedenborg's address became more intense and ornamental from the beginning to the end of these works; a somewhat rare phenomenon in literature, for the imagination commonly burns out in proportion as what is termed sober reason

advances, whereas with this author his imagination was kindled at the torch of his reason, and never flamed forth freely until the soberness of his maturity had set it on fire from the wonderful love and wisdom that couch in all things.

What is the import of the scientific system which he left? We have seen that it arose from a catholic experience and observation, and carried the particular sciences which it traversed, beyond the limits of class-cultivation. We have seen that the philosophic miner brought forth the human frame from the colleges of medicine, and conferred the right to know it upon all who study universal knowledge. We have also seen that he incorporated the formulas of the old philosophy, making them no longer abstractions, but the life or order of these sciences. We may now then state that Swedenborg's philosophy attains its summit in the marriage of the scholasticism and common sense, with the sciences, of his age; in the consummation of which marriage his especial genius was exerted and exhausted. In him the oldest and the newest spirit, met in one; reverence and innovation were evenly mingled: nothing ancient was superseded, though pressed into the current service of the century. He was one of the links that connect bygone ages with to-day, breathing for us among the lost truths of the past, and perpetuating them in unnoticed forms along the stream of the future. He lived however thoroughly in his own age, and was far before his contemporaries, only because others did not, or could not, use the entire powers of its sphere. We regard him therefore as an honest representative of the eighteenth century. He in his line, gives us the best estimate of the all which any man could do in Europe at that period. But who can exceed his age, although not one in a generation comes up to it? It is not for mortals to live, excepting in, and for, the present; the next year's growth of thought is as

unattainable for us to-day, as the crops of the next summer. Still the future may and does exist in prophecies and shadows. These, among other things, are great scientific systems, the children of single powerful minds, the Platos, Aristotles, and Swedenborgs; yet which are but outlines that will one day have contents that their authors knew not, modifications that their parents could not have borne, supersessions that hurt no one, only because their sensitive partisans have given place to other judges. It is humanity alone that realizes what its happiest sons propose and think they carry; most things require to be done for ages after their authors have done them, that so the doing may be full; and above all, the race, ever providentialized, is the covert individual who writes the philosophies of the world. Add, that whatever system is safe always follows practice.

It will be borne in mind that we here speak of his system particularly with reference to its generative power, and which system, we presume, has been exceeded and surpassed: with reference, however, to his physical principles, such as the doctrine of respiration above mentioned, these are sempiternal pieces of nature, and rank not with the results, but among the springs of systems. The world will therefore taste them afresh from age to age, long after discarding the beautiful rind which enclosed them in the pages of their first discoverer.

Swedenborg's scientific system, with all its detail, may indeed be judged from its ends; its proposed introduction to the soul, which it did not bring about, and on this head we remark that it is entirely a subjective scheme. It matters little whether we dive into the interiors of the mind, or those of the body, by the study of consciousness, or of anatomy, by mental, or bodily introspection: in either case we are equally subjective, we go away from expression

and conversation, and kill and paralyze that whose life we wish to learn. This of course can never lead to a knowledge of the entire soul, though just where we cease to cut up, and institute gentle conversation in the subjective sphere, it may give us knowledge of partial souls, of the subordinate animation of particular organs of the body and faculties of the mind. But the human soul is a man, the man is a society, the society is human nature, intended to become heavenly nature; and it is by conversing with the largest lives at first, that we are instructed by and by in the class languages of the lesser, and in the dialects of the least. It is to this new end that the present sciences are tending in their truths; it is from the same end that they are diverging in the opposite direction as scientisms.

An era has consequently arrived when the principles of thought itself consist of larger atoms than heretofore, and moreover when thought more patiently grows from deeds, and philosophy from history. This is the era of the public mind and the public sciences. The unity of the world is beginning to be recognized as the basis of teaching; the universality of phenomena as the explanatory statement of single facts. The sweep of the ocean currents is seen by the child as part of a planetary picture. The fortunes of each trade are found to be regulated by the whole mundane society. Private medicine resolves itself into the question of public healing. And so forth. It is clear that no previous philosophy could anticipate the wants of such a condition; that no system can apply to it but one which blooms from its own summit. When such a system arrives, it will be as an expressive and decorous skin, both hiding and revealing the subjective wisdom of the past, and through whose transparency the common eye will see deeper into organization than the anatomist or metaphysician now sees by groping in the vitals of his sciences.

In thus emancipating ourselves from the plan which Swedenborg prescribed, we can only wonder what he would have accomplished had he lived in our day and drank its spirit. How manfully would he have handled the terrible problems of the time! How would he have compacted the social and political in the narrow breast of the physical thought, and in that compression and condensation of life, have given breath and stroke to the deadest laws! How would he have exulted in that free humanity which sees that the truths and weal of the millions are the ground from which future genius must spring: that the next unity is not of thought with itself or nature, but of practice and thought with righteousness. In the meantime his scientific works are and will be helpful; and we regard it as a misfortune that through whatever cause, the ripest minds have not the same acquaintance with these books as with the other philosophies; for Swedenborg belongs to our own age as a transition; and it will be found that, at least in time, he is the first available schoolmaster of the nations. Well did he conceive the problem of universal education, which lies not merely in teaching all men, but first in teaching them a new kind of knowledge, catholic and delightful enough for those who cannot learn class sciences, but only truths like dawn and sunset, as self-evident and immemorial as the ways of nature from of old.

Let it not, however, be supposed that Swedenborg thought he had completed the method of the sciences, or even inaugurated the new day that his genius foresaw. On the contrary, he looked for this from the hands of his successors, and his humility covered the whole ground of his mind, although it did not discourage him from the most energetic labours. Fully conscious of his own limits, he called upon the age to supply a stronger intelligence and a more winning explorer. "It now remains for us," says he,

"to close with nature where she lies hidden in her invisible and purer world, and no longer barely to celebrate her mystic rites, but to invite her in person to our chamber, to lay aside the few draperies that remain, and give all her beauty to our gaze. . . . She now demands of the present century some man of genius—his mind developed and corrected by experience, prepared by scientific and other culture, and possessing in an eminent degree the faculty of investigating causes, of reasoning connectedly, and of concluding definitely on the principles of series;—and when such an one comes, to him, I doubt not, she will betroth herself; and in favour of him will yield to the arrows of love, will own his alliance and partake his bed. Oh! that it were my happy lot, to fling nuts to the crowd and head the torch-bearers on her marriage day!"

A word on Swedenborg thus far as a natural theologian. This was a character which he professed, and it is difficult to give too high an estimate of the manner in which he supported it. There is a peculiar sacredness pervading the treatment of his subjects, depending on the perception that their last wisdom is always God. He seldom utters the divine name, but points to a truth and sapience in things, which elicit the repeated inward thought, "this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." Without having stirred a step, we suddenly find that we are in the sanctuary; we kneel with the kneeling creation, with the stones, the suns, and the organs, and the invisible love hears its own murmur in our heart of hearts. The litanies and chants of this natural piety are the intrinsic order of the creatures and the upward leap of their motions from the mineral to the immortal man. Swedenborg's natural theology is all facts and things, which, won to speak by his good genius, tell their own tale, and acknowledge, and to the limit of their capacity

describe, the Author of their being. And doubtless everything is a divine act, the bare story of which is its maker's most affecting praise. See Note 1, Appendix.

We have said that Swedenborg did not attain to the human soul, to that sensible imagination thereof that he desired; but as this is a subject of some importance to what follows, we will briefly state his culminating point in the foregoing works. He saw clearly that the soul is finite; that it is part of a purer world; that it is doubly immortal, once by the grace of God, and once by the contrivances and immunities of nature; that the deeds done in the body prescribe its ultimate form; that it is different in different brains and men, and a most active essence; that it is subtle and all-pervading, has an ethereal envelope, and is in the perfect shape of the human body. Putting all which together, we arrive at a scientific theory of the soul very much like that which apparitions would suggest. Indeed there is a close similarity between Swedenborg's doctrine and that founded upon experience by the *Seeress of Prevorst*, and moreover we are prepared to show that our author was a believer in ghostly matters at a comparatively early period. So far then his induction doubles in with supernatural experience common to all nations and ages, and which, though thin and vapoury, has yet performed we know not how important a part in keeping a faith in immortality alive in spite of the sceptics and the philosophers.

We now pass onwards to another man and author, to Swedenborg the seer and theologian.

"Natural Theology," says the Rev. Augustus Clissold, "will be found to be the same as Revealed, when Natural Theology shall itself have been revealed." Swedenborg also says already in *The Principia*, "The end of the senses is that God may be seen."

PART II.

SWEDENBORG, THE SEER, THEOLOGIAN, AND PHILOSOPHER OF SPIRIT.

THROUGHOUT his life, as we have hitherto detailed it, we have seen in Swedenborg a continual tendency from the natural to the spiritual, a steady ascension from the sciences towards natural theology, and an acceptance throughout of biblical revelation. We have now to contemplate him after he had attained the goal of his endeavours, and when, on looking back to his previous life, he tells us that he saw its purpose, that "he had been introduced by the Lord first into the natural sciences, and prepared from 1710 till 1744, when heaven was opened to him: the reason why he, a philosopher, had been chosen for this office, being, that spiritual knowledge, which is revealed at this day, might be reasonably learned, and naturally understood; because spiritual truths answer to natural ones, which originate, flow from, and serve as a foundation for them." Although, however, as we have observed, this opening of the spiritual was Swedenborg's tendency from the first, yet plainly he never anticipated either the manner or the extent of it. It would seem that he expected the kingdom of God to come upon him in the shape of clear principles deduced from all human knowledge; a scientific religion resting upon nature and revelation, interpreted by analysis and synthesis, from the ground of a pure habit and a holy life. His expectations were

fulfilled, not simply, but marvellously. He was himself astonished at his condition, and often expressed as much. "I never thought," said he, "I should have come into the spiritual state in which I am, but the Lord had prepared me for it in order to reveal the spiritual sense of the Word, which He had promised in the Prophets and the Revelations." What he thenceforth claimed to have received and to be in possession of, was spiritual sight, spiritual illumination, and spiritual powers of reason. And certainly in turning from his foregone life to that which now occupies us, we seem to be treating of another person,—of one on whom the great change has passed, who has tasted the blessings of death, and disburdened his spiritual part of mundane cares, sciences and philosophies. The spring of his lofty flights in nature sleeps in the dust beneath his feet. The liberal charm of his rhetoric is put off, never to be resumed. His splendid but unfinished organon is never to be used again, but its wheel and essence are transferred for other applications. It is a clear instance of disembodiment—of emancipation from a worldly lifetime; and we have now to contemplate Swedenborg, still a mortal, as he rose into the other world.* From that elevation he as little recurred to his scientific life, though he had its spirit with him, as a freed soul to the body in the tomb: he only possessed it in a certain high memory, which offered its result to his new pursuits.

Faithful to our intention at the beginning of this narrative, we shall chiefly recount the marvels which follow, in Swedenborg's own words, leaving to the reader full freedom respecting these unwonted announcements.

* It has been reproached to Swedenborg by the first essayist of the day, that he represents the universe in a "magnetic sleep," which is true enough, because nothing else would give the tint of both life and death.

"I have been called," says he in a letter to Mr. Hartley, dated 1769, "to a holy office by the Lord Himself, who most graciously manifested Himself in person to me, His servant, in the year 1743; when He opened my sight to the view of the spiritual world, and granted me the privilege of conversing with spirits and angels, which I enjoy to this day. . . . The only reason of my later journeys to foreign countries, has been the desire of being useful, by making known the secrets entrusted to me."

Another account of the same event has been related by M. Robsahm, who inquired of Swedenborg where and how his revelations began. "I was in London," said Swedenborg, "and dined late at my usual quarters, where I had engaged a room, in which at pleasure to prosecute my studies in natural philosophy. I was hungry, and ate with great appetite. Towards the end of the meal I remarked that a kind of mist spread before my eyes, and I saw the floor of my room covered with hideous reptiles, such as serpents, toads and the like. I was astonished, having all my wits about me, and being perfectly conscious. The darkness attained its height and then passed away. I now saw a man sitting in a corner of the chamber. As I had thought myself entirely alone, I was greatly frightened when he said to me, 'Eat not so much!' My sight again became dim, but when I recovered it I found myself alone in my room. The unexpected alarm hastened my return home. I did not suffer my landlord to perceive that anything had happened; but thought it over attentively, and was not able to attribute it to chance, or any physical cause. I went home, but the following night the same man appeared to me again. I was this time not at all alarmed. The man said: 'I am God, the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer of the world. I have chosen thee to unfold to men the spiritual sense of the Holy Scripture. I will myself

dictate to thee what thou shalt write.' The same night the world of spirits, hell and heaven, were convincingly opened to me, where I found many persons of my acquaintance of all conditions. From that day forth I gave up all worldly learning, and laboured only in spiritual things, according to what the Lord commanded me to write. Thereafter the Lord daily opened the eyes of my spirit, to see in perfect wakefulness what was going on in the other world, and to converse, broad awake, with angels and spirits."

Dr. Beyer gives a third narrative of the transaction. "The report," says he, "of the Lord's personally appearing before the Assessor, who saw Him sitting in purple and in majestic splendour near his bed, whilst He gave him commission what to do, I have heard from his own mouth, whilst dining with him at the house of Dr. Rosén, where I saw, for the first time, the venerable old man. I remember to have asked him how long this appearance continued. He replied, that it lasted about a quarter of an hour. I also asked him whether the vivid splendour did not pain his eyes? to which he said, No. . . . In respect to the extraordinary case of the Lord appearing to him, and opening, in a wonderful manner, the internal and spiritual sight of His servant, so as to enable him to see into the other world, I must observe that this opening did not occur at once, but by degrees."

In his *Diary* the same event appears to be narrated: the paragraph is as follows:—

"A vision in the day time: of those who are devoted to conviviality in eating, and indulge their appetites.

"397. In the middle of the day at dinner an angel spoke to me, and told me not to eat too much at table. Whilst he was with me, there plainly appeared to me a kind of vapour steaming from the pores of the body. It was a most visible watery vapour, and

fell downwards to the ground upon the carpet, where it collected, and turned into divers vermin, which were gathered together under the table, and in a moment went off with a pop or noise. A fiery light appeared within them, and a sound was heard, pronouncing, that all the vermin that could possibly be generated by unseemly appetite, were thus cast out of my body, and burnt up, and that I was now cleansed from them. Hence we may know what luxury and the like have for their bosom contents. 1745. April." Smile not, reader, at this plain representation of what lies under thy sumptuous table: perhaps thou dost not yet know, what shall be taught thee, that *solid* temperance is both more difficult, and more fruitful than *fluid*; and that revelations and overloaded stomachs are contrarious. We shall recur to this topic in Part III. of our Work.

It would appear from a collation of the various accounts of the event referred to, that it took place in 1745, in the middle of the month of April. Nevertheless there is ground for concluding, that although the Lord appeared to Swedenborg at that time, yet his immediate preparation, and the opening of his spiritual sight, were operations extended over several years: a circumstance rendered the more likely, because his subsequent state was plainly gradual and progressive, which warrants the opinion that it was at first brought on by degrees.

We must here recur to Swedenborg's doctrine of respiration, at which the reader may be surprised, but we shall have him with us in the sequel. The truth is, that without respiration a man can neither be born, or die; it is breathing that opens the gates of this world's life, and cessation of the breath that marks our exit through the opposite portal. Now the terms of breathing being birth and death, the whole intermediate career,—all the actions that oscillate between the two,—are nothing in one sense but the contents

or details of breathing. As we breathe, so we are. Inward thoughts have inward breaths, and purer spiritual thoughts have spiritual breaths hardly mixed with material. Death is breathlessness. Fully to breathe the external atmosphere, is equivalent *ceteris paribus* to living in plenary enjoyment of the senses and the muscular powers. On the other hand, the condition of trance, or death life, is the persistence of the inner breath of thought, or the soul's sensation, while the breath of the body is annulled. It is only those in whom this can have place, that may still live in this world, and yet be consciously associated with the persons and events in the other. Hybernation and other phenomena come in support of these remarks. Thus we have common experience on our side, in asserting that the capacities of the inward life, whether thought, meditation, contemplation, or trance, depend upon those of the respiration; and the reader is now prepared for what Swedenborg says of himself regarding his endowments in this respect.

He tells us in his *Diary* (n. 3464) that there are many species of respirations, producing for their subjects divers introductions to the spiritual and angelic persons with whom the lungs *conspire*; that according as the breath continues or ceases, the man dies back for the time into the inward life, meets its inhabitants, and explores their scenes. After describing various kinds of respirations, sensible and insensible, he goes on to say, that he was at first habituated to insensible breathing in his infancy, when he said his morning and evening prayers, and occasionally afterwards when exploring the concordance between the heart and lungs, and particularly when writing his thoughtful works; and this he observed for several years. On these occasions he always remarked, that his respiration was tacit, and hardly sensible; a circumstance respecting which he not only thought but wrote: and thus for a number of years, beginning

with childhood, he was introduced into these peculiar respirations, mainly by intense speculations, in which breathing stops, for otherwise intense intellectual speculation is impossible. He further adds that when heaven was opened to him, and he spoke with spirits, the above was so thoroughly the case, that sometimes for nearly an hour together he hardly breathed at all, only drawing in enough breath to serve as a supply for his thoughts: in which way he was introduced by the Lord into inward breathing. The same phenomena also occurred when he was going to sleep, and he thinks that his preparation went on during repose. So multiple was it, by his own account, so obedient had his breathing become and so correspondent with all spheres, that he obtained thereby the range of the higher world, and was enabled to be at home among spirits and angels.

Among other passages in his *Diary* to the same effect, we also cite the following (n. 3317, 3320) on this interesting subject. "My respiration," says he, "has been so formed by the Lord, as to enable me to breathe inwardly for a long period of time, without the aid of the external air; my respiration being directed within, and my outward senses, as well as actions, still continuing in their vigour, which is only possible with persons who have been so formed by the Lord. . . . I have also been instructed, that my breathing was so directed, without my being aware of it, in order to enable me to be with spirits, and to speak with them." And again he says, "It has been shewn me that each of the bodily senses has its peculiar respiration, yea, its peculiar place of respiration. . . . Moreover it was granted me to gather the same thing from much experience before I spoke with spirits, and to see that breathing corresponds with thought; as for instance *during my infancy, when I tried purposely to hold my breath*; also at morning and evening prayers; and when I attempted to make

the rhythm of the breath correspond with the heart's pulsation, in which case the understanding began almost to be obliterated. And furthermore afterwards, when I was writing and using my imagination, at which time I could observe that I held my breath, which became in a manner tacit."

Some analogous power over the breath—a power to live and think without respiring, for it is the bodily respiration that draws down the mind at the same time that it draws up the air, and thus causes mankind to be compound, or spiritual and material beings—some analogous power to the above, we say, has lain at the basis of the gifts of many other seers besides Swedenborg. It is quite apparent that the Hindoo Yogi were capable of a similar state, and in our own day the phenomena of hypnotism* have taught us much in a scientific manner of these ancient conditions and sempiternal laws. Take away or suspend that which draws you to this world, and the spirit, by its levitation, tends upwards to the other. There is however a difference between Swedenborg's state, as he reports it, and the modern instances, inasmuch as the latter are artificial, and induced by external effort, whereas Swedenborg's was natural also and we may say congenital, was the combined regime of his aspirations and respirations, did not engender sleep, but was accompanied by full waking and open eyes, and was not courted in the first instance for the trances or visions that it brought. Other cases moreover are occasional, whereas Swedenborg's appears to have been uninterrupted, or nearly so, for twenty-seven years. But of this we shall have to speak further presently.

We have now therefore accounted in some measure for one part of Swedenborg's preparation, and what we have said comports with experience, which shows

* See Braid's *Neurypnology, or the Rationale of Nervous Sleep*, London, 1843.

that those amphibious conditions with which we are more familiar, hinge upon certain peculiarities of bodily structure or endowment; and we have thereby prepared the reader to admit, that if living below the air or under water, requires a peculiar habit or organism, so also does living above the air—above the natural animus (*avepos*) of the race, require answerable but peculiar endowments. The diver and the seer are inverse correspondences. Swedenborg himself corroborates this, where in enumerating the conditions requisite to qualify for the ecstatic life, he particularizes that a peculiar state is indispensable, mainly regarding the connexion of the brain with the heart, between which the lungs are the uniting medium: a state which may either be natural, or the result of artificial means applied to the existing organization.

To show how intelligent Swedenborg was of these deep things, we have only to examine his anatomical works and manuscripts, which present a regular progress of ideas on the subject of respiration. "If we carefully attend to profound thoughts," says he, "we shall find that *when we draw breath*, a host of ideas rush from beneath as through an opened door into the sphere of thought; whereas *when we hold the breath*,* and slowly let it out, we deeply keep the while in the tenor of our thought, and communicate as it were with the higher faculty of the soul; as I have observed in my own person times out of number. Retaining or holding back the breath is equivalent to having intercourse with the soul: attracting or drawing it amounts to intercourse with the body."

This indeed is a fact so common that we never think about it: so near to natural life, that its axioms

* We again request the reader to watch his own breath, and he will in due time spontaneously learn many interesting truths about respiration.

are almost too substantial for knowledge. Not to go so deep as to the intellectual sphere, we may remark that all fineness of bodily work—all *that* in art which comes out of the infinite delicacy of manhood as contrasted with animality—requires a corresponding breathlessness and expiring. To listen attentively to the finest and least obtrusive sounds, as with the stethoscope to the murmurs in the breast, or with mouth and ear to distant music, needs a hush that breathing disturbs; the common ear has to die, and be born again, to exercise these delicate attentions. To take an aim at a rapid-flying or minute object, requires in like manner a breathless time and a steady act: the very pulse must receive from the stopped lungs a pressure of calm. To adjust the exquisite machinery of watches, or other instruments, compels in the manipulator a motionless hover of his own central springs. Even to see and observe with an eye like the mind itself necessitates a radiant pause. Again, for the negative proof, we see that the first actions and attempts of children are unsuccessful, being too quick, and full moreover of confusing breaths: the life has not fixed aerial space to play the game, but the scene itself flaps and flutters with alien wishes and thoughts. In short, the whole reverence of remark and deed depends upon the above conditions, and we lay it down as a general truth, that *every man requires to educate his breath for his business*. Bodily strength, mental strength, even wisdom, all lean upon our respirations; and Swedenborg's case is but a striking instance raising to a very visible size a fact which like the air is felt and wanted, but for the most part not perceived.

We have dwelt upon the physical part of inspiration and aspiration, because with the subject of this memoir, body was always connected with, and fundamental to, spirit; and therefore it is biographically true to *him*, to support his seership by its

physical counterpart. Moreover it is important for all men to know how much lies in calm, and to counsel them (whether by biography, or science, it matters not,) to look to the balance of their life-breath, and to let it sometimes incline as it ought towards the immortal and expiring side.

But if Swedenborg was expressly constructed and prepared for spirit-seeing, the end developed itself in a measure side by side with the means, which is also a law of things. We have seen that in his boyhood his parents used to declare that angels spoke through his mouth, which again calls to mind the entranced breaths of prayer that he commemorates at this period. Much later on, but before his theological mission commenced, we find him intellectually aware that heaven might be entered by the sons of earth, and, as he then thought, by the analytic method of science, which having arrived on some of the peaks of truth, would introduce us to those who are at home in that region, and enable us to revert with a kind of spiritual sight to the world from which we had ascended. He says on this head, that "knowledge unless derived from first principles is but a beggarly and palliative science, sensual in its nature, not derived from the world of causes, but animal, and without reason: that to explore causes, we must ascend to the infinite, and then and thence we may descend to effects, when we have first ascended from effects by the analytic way. Furthermore, that by this means we may become rational beings, men, angels, *and may be among the latter*, when we shall have explored truths, and when we are in them: *that this is the way to heaven, to the primeval state of man, to perfection.*" This is doubtless a bold interpretation of induction and deduction, but no one knew better than Swedenborg in his day whither real methods would conduct us. It only concerns us however now to show, that he was conscious of a possible entrance

for the understanding into the atmospheres of the higher world, and that he conceived it to lie in true ladders of doctrine framed by good men out of true sciences.

But we are moreover enabled to add that his senses also were stricken by spiritual objects before his express mission commenced. For example, in his posthumous *Adversaria* on Genesis and Exodus, when speaking of the spiritual meaning of flames of fire, he observes that "flames signify confirmation or attestation of truth; and that this has been shewn to him from above." He proceeds to say that "he had seen flames of different sizes, and of different colour and splendour, and this, so often, that for several months whilst writing a certain work,* scarcely a day passed in which there did not appear before him flames as vivid as those of a common fire, which," he adds, "was a sign of approbation: and this was before the time when spirits began to speak with him *viva voce*."

So again he says in his *Diary*,† that "for many years before his mind was opened, and he was enabled to speak with spirits, there were not only dreams informing him respecting the subjects that were written;‡ but also changes of state when he was writing, and a peculiar extraordinary light in the writings: afterwards many visions when his eyes were shut; light miraculously given; spirits influencing him as sensibly as if they appealed to the bodily senses; temptations also from evil spirits almost overwhelming him with horror; fiery lights; words spoken in early morning; and many similar events."

To some of these particulars we have his current testimony at the very time when they were happening.

* Supposed by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel to be *The Worship and Love of God*, but it might be the Fourth Part of *The Animal Kingdom*.

† N. 2951.

‡ He often speaks thus impersonally.

Of this, the Fourth Part of *The Animal Kingdom* (a MS. written, for the most part, as it would appear, during 1744) affords the proofs. At p. 82 of this work he has the following *Observandum*. "According to admonition heard, I must refer to my philosophical *Principia* . . . and it has been, told me that by that means I shall be enabled to direct my flight whithersoever I will." Twice also in the same work he notifies that he is *commanded* to write what he is penning.* At p. 194 he mentions that he saw a *representation*† of a certain golden key that he was to carry, to open the door to spiritual things. At p. 202 he remarks at the end of a paragraph, that "on account of what is there written there happened to him wonderful things on the night between the first and second of July;" and he adds in the margin, that the matter set down was "foretold to him in a wonderful manner on that occasion."† Still further on (p. 215) he again refers to his extraordinary dream of the above date.

This brings us to the subject of his sleep, which will contribute its share to his psychological history. So observant was Swedenborg of what went on within himself, that he left a MS. record of several of his dreams from 1736 to 1740, which has been printed by Klemming since the first edition of this Sketch was written, and also translated from its Swedish original by the present writer. Moreover we have Swedenborg's testimony in several parts of his MSS., that for years before 1745 his dreams were ordered and instructive, and constituted one department of his preparation.

Lastly, there is one doctrine that Swedenborg held,

* "Jussus sum. Ita videar jussus." MS., p. 202, 223.

† "Hæc quæ scripsi prænuntiata mihi sunt mirabiliter, vide finem Julii et 2. Scripsi Jul. 2." MS., p. 174 in margin. We give these references to the MS., because by some oversight the words appear to have been omitted from Dr. J. F. I. Tafel's edition.

and which constitutes an immediate link between intellect and reality, possession with which would contribute to predispose to spiritual experience; we mean the doctrine of Universal Correspondency. To this great intellectual substance we shall have to recur in the sequel, but for the present it suffices to observe, that it imports that bodies are the generation and expression of souls; that the frame of the natural world works, moves and rests obediently to the living spiritual world, as a man's face to the mind or spirit within. Now this plainly makes all things into signs as well as powers; the events of nature and the world become divine, angelic, or demoniac messages, and the smallest things, as well as the greatest, are omens, instructions, warnings, or hopes. Accordingly it was on intellectual reasons of solid science, that Swedenborg interpreted the events about him as of spiritual significance, and we are not surprised to find that his always recording pen noted down minute occurrences as pregnant to himself. We find one remarkable instance of this in the last MS. we have cited, where the author takes account of the presence and absence and the movements of a fly in his apartment.* This of course is either insanity or a high pitch of wisdom, in which, however, it only partakes of that double chance that permeates the universe. The philosophers and the mad doctors regard all spiritual experience of a real kind as delusion; but our theory is different, and we see in it both good and bad, sound and insane, and judge each case on its own merits, not cramping the verdict by ill-advised general rules. In this we have Scripture, tradition, the present usages of society, and the balance of the twelve judges at Westminster, on our side, to say nothing of practical charity towards our fellow citizens.

* *Op. Cit.*, p. 164. "Sed hæc obscura sunt, forte nec vera : vidi muscam, illa abiit, recessi. Iteratum de veritatibus, secundum monitiones, ut autumo illa rediit me invito, et ego viam tuli."

Among many more important circumstances, Swedenborg's clear-seeing stands apart from most others by comprising the two worlds at once. In him the inward thought had learned to breathe, and the inward sight to exert itself, by contemplative respirations and abstractions, but this being attained, and the spiritual power developed and set free, it appears that his bodily activity was no hindrance to his spiritual. Perhaps the former could go on habitually while the latter was the express field of his consciousness. Thus, by analogy, we find that we can perform several acts at once, provided some have become habitual, and they are not all in the same sphere. For instance, we walk to our journey's end by sheer habit, and converse and observe different objects on the way, without confusing the operations of our limbs. But a child just learning to walk, must bend will, eyes, mind and care upon its legs, or it will fall to the ground: but by and bye its mind becomes emancipated from its members, and it can run, and prattle of different things, at the same time. So we can, when the eye is practised, see the whole of a landscape by habit, and yet see some special object therein by quite a different observation. And in the same manner, raising these common examples to higher powers, there is no reason why two worlds and dramas should not appear to the same duplex individual, the natural side being seen by indefeasible habit, the spiritual by direct present attention; or *vice versa*. There is no reason why active and passive sight should not coexist to this extent.

But we owe an apology to the reader for so long detaining him on the threshold, a course which we should not have taken but that the current of the age has set in strongly towards spiritual seerships, as witness the facts produced every day by mesmerism, and now placed beyond a doubt. The sequel of our remarks will show that we had reason in these preliminaries.

Respecting the reasons for Swedenborg's "call," we give them in his own words. "I was once asked," says he, "how I, a philosopher, became a theologian. My reply was: In the same way that fishermen became the disciples and apostles of the Lord. And I added, that *I, too, from early youth had been a spiritual fisherman*. On this, my enquirer asked what I meant by a spiritual fisherman. To which I answered, that a fisherman, in the spiritual sense of the Word, signifies one who rationally investigates and teaches natural truths, and *afterwards* spiritual truths. . . . My interrogator then said: Now I can understand why the Lord chose fishermen for disciples; and therefore I do not wonder that He has also chosen *you*; since, as you observed, you were from early youth a fisherman in a spiritual sense, or an investigator of natural truths; and the reason that you are now an investigator of spiritual truths, is, because *the latter are founded upon the former*. . . . At last he said: Since you have become a divine, what is your system of divinity? These are its two principles, said I, that GOD IS ONE, and that THERE IS A CONJUNCTION OF CHARITY AND FAITH. He replied, Who denies these principles? I rejoined, The divinity of the present day, when inwardly examined."

After having been "called to a holy office by the Lord Himself," Swedenborg at once embraced the duties of his new commission. Negatively he had already one important qualification for it; he had read no dogmatic or systematic theology, and had none of its "unfounded opinions and inventions" in his mind to be extirpated. He now, therefore, learnt the Hebrew language, and read over the word of God many times, studying its spiritual correspondences, and was thereby enabled to receive instruction from the Lord, who is the Word. At once also he began to commit his studies to paper, thinking out the

extent of his immense theme in the act of writing. Of the continued character of these studies, we have before us a stupendous record in the manuscript which he left on the books of the Old Testament, and which shows an unwearied power, and a gradually-brightening intelligence on the scope and spirit of the Bible. It was by slow degrees that he rose from his previous conceptions to the new development that we find in his next publication: his earlier manuscripts being in some measure a continuation of the psychological and intellectual system that appears in the *Worship and Love of God*. His spiritual experiences also in the first instance partook somewhat of that thinness which we have noted as peculiar in the last-mentioned work: he still regarded spirits as minds and intelligences *appearing* under human forms; he heard their spiritual voices, and saw them as it were in ethereal outline, not being yet opened to regard them as our only acquaintances,—men and women. However his *Adversaria*, from which we gather these particulars, are in truth a marvellous series of cogitations, and setting his own works aside, we know not with what commentaries they are comparable for unfolding the spiritual aspect of the Holy Scriptures, and the subjective philosophy of the human mind.

His personal history at this date is scanty, and almost conjectural. He resided in London (probably with Brockmer, in Fetter Lane) until the beginning of July, 1745, when he took ship to Sweden, arriving thither after a passage of more than a month, on the seventh of August. During the voyage his spiritual intercourse was suspended; perhaps at this period the sea was not so favourable for it as the land. He remained in Sweden in 1746, and in the earlier part of 1747 also.

He had now entered upon a vocation which no longer permitted him to discharge the functions of his office as Assessor of the Board of Mines, and in

1747 he asked and obtained permission of King Frederick to retire from it. His petition to his Majesty contained also two other requests, namely, that he might enjoy during life, as a retiring pension, one half of the salary attached to the Assessorship; and that his retirement from the office might not be accompanied by any addition to his rank or title. He gives his motives in the transaction in his own modest way. "My sole view in this resignation," says he, "was, that I might be more at liberty to devote myself to that new function to which the Lord had called me. On resigning my office, a higher degree of rank was offered me, but this I declined, lest it should be the occasion of inspiring me with pride." The king granted his desires, but in consideration of his services of 31 years, continued to him the whole salary of his late office; a proof of the esteem in which he was held in Sweden.

We presume that he made this last voyage to Sweden for the purpose of obtaining his dismissal from the Assessorship, which when he had procured, he again repaired to London in 1747, and wrote out the first volume of the *Arcana Cælestia* for the press, to which John Lewis was "eye witness." This was published about the middle of 1749. At the beginning of 1750 he was out of England, probably in Sweden, for he sent the MS. of the second volume of the *Arcana* from abroad to London to be printed. He was certainly in his own country in 1751, when we meet him at the funeral of his old coadjutor, Polhem, an occasion on which he saw *both sides* of his friend's grave. We quote from his *Diary* (commenced about 1747) the record of the burial.

"Polhem," says he, "died on Monday, and spoke with me on Thursday. I was invited to the funeral. He saw the hearse, the attendants, and the whole procession. He also saw them let down the coffin into the grave, and conversed with me while it was

going on, asking me why they buried him when he was alive? And when the priest pronounced that he would rise again at the day of judgment, he asked why this was, when he had risen already? He wondered that such a belief should obtain, considering that he was even now alive; he also wondered at the belief in the resurrection of the body, for he said that he felt he was in the body: with other remarks."

From 1749 to 1756 appeared his great work, the *Arcana Cælestia*,* in eight volumes 4to, containing, in 10,837 paragraphs, an exposition of the spiritual sense of the books of Genesis and Exodus. This work was published in London, volume by volume, the second being issued in numbers, with an English version, said to be executed by one Marchant. Swedenborg's publisher, John Lewis before mentioned, has left some notice of him at this time. He says that, though he is "positively forbid to discover the author's name," yet he hopes to be excused for mentioning "his benign and generous qualities." He "averts that this gentleman, with indefatigable pains and labour, spent one whole year in studying and writing the first volume of the *Arcana*, was at the expense of £200 to print it, and advanced £200 more for the printing of the second; and when he had done this, he gave express orders that all the money that should arise in the sale, should be given towards the charge of the Propagation of the Gospel. He is so far from desiring to make a gain of his labours, that he will not receive one farthing back of the £400 he hath expended; and for that reason his works will come exceedingly cheap to the public."

* *Arcana Cælestia*. The Heavenly Arcana which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, or Word of the Lord, Unfolded, beginning with the Book of Genesis. Together with Wonderful Things seen in the World of Spirits and in the Heaven of Angels.

Let us now turn to the work itself, and waste as little force as possible upon admiration of it in a literary sense. The author indeed professed to have derived the whole of it from direct rational illumination by the Lord; no spirit and no angel had infused its supernatural knowledge, but it proceeded directly from the Almighty himself. As, however, it was an intellectual light by which the Most High communicated himself to Swedenborg's understanding, and through that to his spiritually-opened senses, so it comes to be judged and apprehended by the human understanding, and is freely placed before the rational powers. No man, according to Swedenborg, is bound to receive it on his *ipse dixit*, but he is to examine it, and decide according to intrinsic evidence.

The work runs in two parallel streams; there is on the one hand a series of scriptural interpretations unlocking the letter of the Word into truths pertaining to the Lord and the inner man: there is on the other a narrative interjected between the chapters of the former, and embracing a description of the wonders of the other life. We must give to these two departments a separate consideration.

For the first, the position of the Bible is defined as the Word of the Lord, and the nature of biblical evidences is thereby determined. If it be the book and message of the Infinite, its proper attestations are its intrinsic divinity; its wisdom and its love; its adaptation to man as a religious being in all time and place, and in all states of existence: in a word, it must contain details, infinite in every way, and connecting every possible state of the soul with the Fountain of blessings. This profound creed respecting the Word, is the postulate of Swedenborg's *Arcana*, to be proved in the sequel by the showing of the work itself.

The method whereby the Word is unfolded is called in general the science of correspondences. If there

be unity in the creation, then is the whole one coherent plan, beginning from God, and ending in God. If there be order, then is there a hierarchy of natures, whereof the highest are first produced, and nearest to their source; the second creatures standing next to the first, and the third to the second: each being placed between those which are next of kin to it above and below. If there be life and movement, then the action must pass in the before-mentioned order, and each new mean, as it is produced, will engender the means of representing and carrying itself out in another and a further sphere. These are our needful thoughts of every consistent work; and the perfection of the work is in proportion to the strictness with which the above conditions are realized. Let the reader apply the case to anything which he himself does, and he will discover that the unity of his result contains and depends upon these particulars.

But nature is the work of God, and the Word is the speech of God, and the speech is in like manner a work. The Word therefore involves the above substantial laws. In its innermost essence it is divine; in its next intentions it regards the ends that are to follow from it, in times beyond the present, and in realms beyond time itself: speaking to the ultimate races of man, and to the highest heavens: in its next meanings it speaks to a future less remote, and to a lower altitude of heaven, and so forth; until at length it addresses each man and spirit in his own language, and in his own age. Like the world itself it stands for ever, but the race, according to its various state, draws from its inexhaustible bosom new mines of treasure, from its surface new circumstances of life and conscience, from its atmosphere new sources of power.

What therefore is the science of correspondences? It is the intellectual teaching of the relations between

all different spheres. The difficulty of illustrating it lies in the fact that the works of God differ from those of God's image, man, in one important particular. The human workman in this world is only conscious of operating on one platform at once; if he makes a machine, it is all in nature; if he writes a book, it carries, to his mind, but one meaning. The divine workman, however, operates at once in all altitudes and worlds: his fiat, and its productions, pervade the depth and breadth of his creation: his creative wisdom passes by unknown paths through every sphere, and the same ray of divine light deposits in one an angelic affection, in the next a human love, in the next an animal faculty, and only terminates by creating some animal, vegetable, or mineral reality or modification, which breathing straightway with the divine effort, tends upwards again through the same series, subsisting from all, supporting all, and running back through all. What makes the difference of these productions? Not the creative ray, but the place, time, state, and circumstances upon which it works; for it is no other than one wisdom in a various exercise. The correspondence between the forms that it leaves in its passage, is simply this, that they are all one in soul, but each suited to a different use; and hence as a rule, correspondence is a divine equation, whereby one thing is to one sphere precisely as another thing is to another sphere. Whenever this is the case, the two things are fundamentally united; they mutually do each other's work in their own places, and are each other's, no matter how unlike they appear in form; for the form is but the face or body that each shows to its peculiar sphere. Now if we had experience of this compound operation in our own works, we should easily admit it of the works and Word of God: as it is, however, we obtain a glimpse of it in another way, by symbols in language, which make the objects of nature into bodies of

thought, thereby suggesting that all things are the naturalization of divine thoughts; by the human face, which expresses the soul, and thus presents us with two corresponding things in two different spheres: also by gestures and particular acts, which, we know not why, are felt to be images of the persons who produce them, and are interpreted of them by this signification. Not to mention other illustrations.

The Word of God then, on Swedenborg's showing, contains various bodies of divine truth adequate to divers orders of angels and men; to the celestial man, in whom goodness is paramount, it is celestial, and teaches the truths of the innermost heaven: to the spiritual man, in whom truth is supreme, it is spiritual, and teaches the truths of the second heaven: to the lower heavens, and to the natural world, it is natural, and teaches truths by symbols in the one case, and by a mixture of history and symbol in the other. It has therefore three general senses, which correspond to each other, but is throughout divine in its origin and end. The *Arcana Cœlestia* is chiefly devoted to an exposition of the spiritual sense of one portion of it.

This brings us to the second department of the work, or the spiritual experience, which comprises lengthy accounts of the other world. And here we may remark that some persons have greatly regretted that the author should have introduced these narratives into his interpretation. Among the rest, Swedenborg's friend, Count Höpken, "once represented to the venerable man, that he thought it would be better not to mix his beautiful writings with so many *memorable relations*, or things heard and seen in the spiritual world, . . . of which ignorance makes a jest and derision." But Swedenborg answered, that "this did not depend upon him; that he was too old to sport with spiritual things, and too much concerned for his eternal happiness to give in to such

foolish notions," with more to the same purport. And still, notwithstanding, the Count says that "he could have wished that Swedenborg had left them out, since they may prevent infidelity from approaching his doctrines." The truth however is that they are vital to his doctrines, and to omit them would reduce his interpretations to a philosophical system, that like the rest would have no hold upon creation, and no heel upon infidelity, which indeed it would supply with a new field of operations.

A visitant of the spiritual world, Swedenborg has described it in lively colours, and it would appear that it is not at all like what modern ages have deemed. According to some, it is a speck of abstraction, intense with grace and saving faith, and other things of terms. Only a few of the oldest poets—always excepting the Bible—have shadowed it forth with any degree of reality, as spacious for mankind. There Swedenborg is at one with them, only that he is more sublimely homely regarding our future dwelling-place. The spiritual world is the same old world of God in a higher sphere. Hill and valley, plain and mountain, are as apparent there as here. The evident difference lies in the multiplicity and perfection of objects, but everything with which we are familiar is perpetuated there, and added to innumerable other things. The spiritual world is essential nature, and spirit besides. Its inhabitants are men and women, and their circumstances are societies, houses and lands, and whatever belongs thereto. The common-place foundation needs no moving, to support the things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived. The additions and pinnacles of wisdom are placed upon the basis which God has laid. Thus nature is not only a knowledge, but a method; our introduction to the mineral, vegetable and animal worlds, to the air and the sun, is a friendship that will never be dissolved:

there is no faithlessness in our great facts if only we are faithful to them, but stone and bird, wood and animal, sea and sky, are acquaintances which we meet with in the spiritual sphere, in our latest manhood or angelhood, equally as in the dawn of the senses, before the grave is gained. Such is the spiritual world: duration and immensity resuming nature, but subject to spiritual laws.

What do these spiritual laws introduce? Or first, what is the *régime* of the natural laws? The latter, we reply, give fixity to things. The order of the sun and planets introduces time through measured movements, while cohesion and gravitation keep spaces permanent, and all things born in this Cosmos suck time and space from the revolving world; thus day and night, size and separation are written upon them from the beginning. Whatever changes they undergo are through and in time and space. These rules of fixation * are the natural laws, which support mankind and

* See the Author's work, *The Greater Origins and Issues of Life and Death*, 1885, the chapter on *The Sun*, for a further statement on the fixity of Nature as the basis of human immortality. On this subject Swedenborg says in his Treatise on *The Divine Wisdom in the Apocalypse Explained*: "The angelic mind cannot be procreated, or multiplied by acts of procreation, excepting in man. Whoever is aware of the respective natures of the substances in the spiritual world, and of the matters in the natural world, may easily see that no procreation of angelic minds exists, or can exist, excepting in those, and from those who inhabit some earth; the earths being the last work of creation. But because the relation between the substances in the spiritual world, and the matters in the natural world, is unknown, it shall be explained. The substances in the spiritual world appear as if they were material, but nevertheless are not so, and as they are not material, therefore they are not constant. They are correspondences of the affections of the angels, and last with the angels while their affections last, and cease when they cease. The like would have been the case with the angels themselves if they had been there created. Besides which, with the angels, no other procreation, and no multiplication, exists, or is possible, but that which is spiritual, which, in fact, is the procreation of wisdom

the human faculties, but do not obey them. The spiritual laws, on the other hand, are the laws of the mind, or laws like the mind's, swaying a universe of forms like those of nature. The spiritual world is full of *quasi* natural objects, but which are not fixed, but fluid to the spirit. Its centre is not the sun, but the divinity, and humanity also is its subsidiary centre. As humanity is the second law and force of that world, so its contents and changes represent those of humanity. Its spaces and quarters are determined by the spiritual sun, which is the divine love; those who reciprocate that love the most, are in the spiritual east; those who receive the divine wisdom are in the south; and the declensions of these qualities constitute severally the west and north of the spiritual quarters. The whole combines into instant and irresistible arrangement according to the spiritual affinities of the parts. And as humanity in the aggregate gravitates to its own places in the inward world, so does each nation, each society, and finally every individual; and wherever they be, the three kingdoms, in divine plenitude, are there also; the inhabitants still stand upon the ground, but it is a floor that symbolizes and depends upon their spiritual *status*; they still see the growths of the vegetable world, but these are the very germination of their senses; nor are there wanting birds and animals, new and old, to reflect, by exact co-ordination, their intelligence and affections. Hence the spiritual universe is the last justice and harmony of mere mankind, where for goodness there is goodness, for the beautiful soul, beauty; and in every particular, for

and love, such indeed as belongs to the souls of men who are born anew or regenerated. In the natural world, however, there are matters through which, and by which, procreations and afterwards formations, can be effected; and in this manner multiplication of men, and therefore of angels." This passage is worth studying, and underlies that cardinal doctrine of Swedenborg, that there are no angels who have not been born men in some part of the material world.

the moral, a corresponding physical. The world, the scenery, the house, the associations, stand and change with the inhabitants. The whole is not only a mansion but an instruction; for the good a pathway of brightening wisdom and a countercheck to the conscience; for the wicked self-punishment and self-imprisonment, supporting, compressing, and correcting.

The same laws associate all men with their likes, all societies with those next them in the genus, and finally bind the whole of humanity into one indissoluble body, whose place is God. For love and liking *are* spiritual nearness, and produce conjunction according to their intensity. Those who ardently desire to see each other, straightway are together,—the desire is spiritual presence. Thus the diversities of love sift men into their places with accurate finality, in a universe where all is Love's.

We may now see how essential was Swedenborg's spiritual experience to his interpretation of the spiritual correspondences of the Bible. He says indeed that he received the latter from the Lord, but as he received it by rational means, this does not exclude any of the providential ways by which he could be instructed. And mingling with societies whose inward states were effigied in the outward forms of the world, and who had witnessed for thousands of years (to measure *their* wisdom by our computation) the correspondence between the outward and the inward; who had tallied off thought and affection as they arose, and all their own human deeds and words, against the events and forms which surrounded them; he could not but learn in innumerable instances that the one set of things answered to the other, and thereby acquire correspondences by much hearsay as well as much experience. Otherwise, inasmuch as the events of this world do not proceed by individual correspondence, he could never have learnt that particular natural forms correspond to particular spiritual

states, the former never being seen to be produced in myriads of instances concurrently with the latter. He might indeed have surmised the fact by a brilliant genius for analogies, which assuredly he possessed, but the spiritual world alone can furnish the proof positive, by exhibiting the generative act in which the outward answers to the inward. For example, he says that the ass corresponds to scientific truth; the horse, to intellectual truth. Now this he might have divined, and corroborated, by tables of analogies, in which these animals would be shown, by a kind of spiritual *rule of three*, to be to nature, what those truths were, to spirit; but the proof would have been only mental, until, in the spiritual world, he saw that horses and asses were respectively always present, and circumstanced, when, and according as, those inward qualities were central; in which case reiterated coincidence would suggest causation, and have the force of fact.

There is one important function of correspondence to which we have slightly adverted, and upon which we must spend a few moments. All correspondence means conjunction, and produces it, for correspondence is nothing but harmony, and harmony is extended love. The body corresponds to the soul, and so the two cohere together, and both are alive. Now as the natural and spiritual senses of the Word correspond, so also they are closely united as a body and a soul, and hence Swedenborg avers that the Word is the means of union between the world and heaven, and that to enter devoutly into its body or letter is to enter heaven upon earth, and to have the angels present in the inner sphere, and the Lord above all. In all nature God is present, but the Word is the immediate body of the divine wisdom, and in the body and no other one circumstance, dwells the soul.

Among the great topics treated of in the *Arcana*,

is that of the process of resurrection from the dead, which Swedenborg experienced, in order to make it known.* Birth into the other life is better attended than births into this world. It is a work of celestial skill, committed to peculiar angels. They occupy the heart of the dying man, and uniting with it, isolate him from all lower spirits. They sit at his head, and communicate their thoughts with his face, so that another face is induced upon him; indeed two faces, for there are two angels. When they find that their faces are received by him, they know that he is dead. They discourse with his soul by still vibrations of the lips. They bend the scents of death into fragrance; for an aromatic odour as of embalmment exhales from the corpse in their presence, whose perfume wards away evil spirits. They keep his thoughts in the pious frame usual at the point of death; and converse with him by "cogitative speech." Swedenborg perceived, as they were assiduous about him, that they made light of all fallacies and falsities, not treating them with ridicule, but discarding them as nothings. He felt his own pulse during their union with his heart. After the celestial have communicated the novitiate's first life, the spiritual succeed them, and unroll the films from his eyes, introducing him into spiritual *light*. He then enters upon his own faculties, and at first is happy and joyful, the good spirits remaining with him whilst he desires them; but at length he follows his own life, and procures his own associates, good or evil. In cases of natural death resurrection takes place on the third day after decease. The force which causes it, is the vivid spiritual attraction of the Lord's mercy, which withdraws the vital substances from the intricacies of the body, and separates them, so that nothing living is left behind. Such is the mode. It is analogous to birth into this world, only that the growth of spiritual

* It happened to him March 1, 1748. See his *Diary*.

life is rapid compared with natural ; the new-born man becoming adult and personal in a few days instead of many years.

In the limited space of this biography, we cannot give even an idea of the contents of the *Arcana*, or of the spiritual sense, descriptive of man's regeneration, which Swedenborg evolves from the Scripture : but of the manner of the work we may say a few words with less injustice. Conceive then, gentle reader, twelve goodly 8vo volumes (in English) written with such continued power that it seems as if eating, drinking and sleeping had never intervened between the penman and his page, so unbroken is the subject, and so complete the sense. Add to the other health and harmony of this unflagging man, a memory of the most extraordinary grasp, which enabled him to administer the details of an intellect ranging through all truth on the one hand, and through the whole field of Scripture illustration and text upon the other. Then take into account the unity of the work from first to last ; the constant reference that binds all parts of it together, and shows the caution with which each strong affirmation is at first set down. Observe also the felicity of phrase, the happiness of mind, the easy greatness, which shine along and dignify those serious pages. Remark also that the author does not deal in generalities, but sentence for sentence, and word for word, he translates his text into spiritual meaning, and criticises and supports himself with nearly every parallel text in the sacred writings. Literature, good reader, shows no similar case, and though the fate of it be left to the future, yet we may safely predict that it will be found impossible to refute it on its own grounds ; and perhaps it would not be wise for thee to wait until a valid refutation shall come—in the production of a better interpretation,—one more worthy of God, and more serviceable to human weal. We say this that thou mayest use what thou hast,

but nowise doubting that the Almighty has more to give, through other sons than Swedenborg.

In 1756, on the 23rd of July, Swedenborg was in Stockholm. This we learn incidentally from his *Diary*. It was in this year that a revolution was attempted in Sweden, and on the day above mentioned, the leaders of the conspiracy, Count Eric Brahe and Baron Horn, were executed in the capital. Swedenborg has nothing to say against the death sentence. He did not lose sight of Brahe when he was beyond the axe ; as the following passage reports :—

“Of those who are resuscitated from the dead, and have made confession of faith in their last moments (Brahe).

“5099. Brahe was beheaded at 10 o'clock in the morning, and spoke with me at 10 at night ; that is to say, twelve hours after his execution. He was with me almost without interruption for several days. In two days' time he began to return to his former life, which consisted in loving worldly things, and after three days he became as he was before in the world, and was carried into the evils that he had made his own before he died.”

This perhaps was the occasion to which Robsahm alludes in the following : “One day,” says he, “as a criminal was led to the place of execution to be beheaded, I was by the side of Swedenborg, and asked him how such a person felt at the time of his execution. He answered, ‘When a man lays his head on the block, he loses all sensation. When he first comes into the spiritual world, and finds that he is living, he is seized with fear of his expected death, tries to escape, and is very much frightened. At such a moment no one thinks of anything but the happiness of heaven, or the misery of hell. Soon the good spirits come to him and instruct him where he is, and he is then left to follow his own inclinations,

which soon lead him to the place where he remains for ever."

In 1758, Swedenborg published in London the five following works. 1. *An account of the Last Judgment and the Destruction of Babylon; shewing that all the predictions in the Apocalypse are at this day fulfilled; being a relation of things heard and seen.* 2. *Concerning Heaven and its Wonders, and concerning Hell, being a relation of things heard and seen.* 3. *On the White Horse mentioned in the Apocalypse.* 4. *On the Planets in our Solar System, and on those in the Starry Heavens; with an account of their inhabitants, and of their Spirits and Angels.* 5. *On the New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine, as revealed from Heaven.* We have now to speak *seriatim* of these productions.

1. Swedenborg's Doctrine of the Last Judgment requires a short preface to understand it, but unlike other accounts of the great assize, it comes into human history, and has a very intelligible connection with future progress. The earth, says he, is the seminary of the human race, and the spiritual world is the destination. Mankind are educated here through the senses in a natural body, and after death their life continues with spiritual senses, and in a spiritual body. The supply of nutriment from earth to heaven, that is to say, of fresh human races, is perpetual, and will never cease; for every divine work represents infinity and eternity, and hence the generations of men in the natural world will continue for everlasting. The earth therefore will not be destroyed at the day of Judgment. Furthermore, all angels and spirits have once been men upon some planet; there is no direct creation of angels,—that is impossible; they would have no fixed immortality thus: but every celestial inhabitant has risen according to his desert from the ranks of mankind. Thus there is no finite being superior to man, and no substantial intermediate between man and his Maker. Now it follows from

this that as heaven is peopled from this world, the state of the spiritual world depends upon that of the natural. When the ages pour into it good and true persons, then the upper world thrives, and its integrity is maintained: on the other hand, when ages are declining, when hereditary vices consume mankind, and posterity goes on from bad to worse, then the human materials supplied to the inward world, disease, derange, and threaten it. At such a time our foul ancestry collects above us and around us, and acting from behind upon the nature that we have inherited from them, and from above upon our actual thoughts and lives, tends to environ us with a dense atmosphere of falsehood and iniquity. It is a common fallacy to suppose that we live by ourselves; our very inmost minds are immersed in the whole of humanity, they depend upon the entire past, as it is realized in those who have carried its spirit into the other life. When the spiritual world is crowded with unworthy ages, the light of heaven can no longer reach their descendants, for by the laws of the supernal order, the Lord's influence passes through the angelic heaven by distinct gradations into the world; and the latter being overhung by clouds of malignant and false natures, the beams of the celestial sun no longer reach it. Should this continue, the extinction of the human race, through vice and lawlessness, would at length ensue: and hence whenever mankind is falling, a special divine interposition alone can renew the broken order, restore the balance, revivify the earth, and present for the tottering heavens a fresh basis of establishment. Now this crisis has been imminent on this planet three several times: once in the most ancient church, whose last judgment was typified by the flood: once when the Lord was in the world, and when He said, "Now is the judgment of this world; now is the prince of this world cast out:" and again: "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." And a

third time, *teste* Swedenborg, in 1757, when the first Christian church was consummated; for it is to be observed that each judgment marks a divine epoch, or takes place at the end of a church, and a church comes to an end when it has no longer any faith in consequence of having no charity.

We observe that this doctrine of the last judgment is a kind of historical necessity, if the other life be indeed real, and if this life prepare its subjects: if on the other hand dead men are to stand for nothing, and if either annihilation, or any other piece of philosophy, such as the soul lying in the body's grave, be admitted, then is history cut from behind us every hour, and we stand as disconnected mortals in its broken chains; in which case the affiliation of ages to each other is mere fortuity, and generation itself is only an ideal game. Belief in immortality however—belief in the enduring manhood of mankind, implies a belief in the substance and power of the dead, and to leave them out of the historic calculus, would be like omitting from the forces of the world its imponderable and atmospheric powers, which are the very brains and lungs of its movements, though, save by their effects, invisible and *quasi* spiritual.

Now the Christian church had been declining from the days of the Apostles, with whom it was first founded in love and simple faith. It had declined through the anger and hatred of the Christians; through their violence and bloody wars; through their love of dominion in a kingdom where all were to be servants; through their love of the world in a state whose early builders had all things in common, and in which the Lord's morrow would take care of itself; through their councils where the human mind erected itself in session upon the truths of God, and made them into coverings for human sins; through the popedom, which sat upon the vacant throne of the Messiah; through the reformation, which kindled

fresh hostilities and passions, and brought into clear separation the mind and heart of the church, writing up justification by faith on the hall of the concourse of evil-doers: finally through the wide-spread Atheism which found too valid an excuse in the manifold abominations of the Christians. Through these stages had the church proceeded, and in 1757 the measure was full, the race upon earth had seen the last remnant of the heavenly azure disappear, and the thick night had closed in. For all these deeds had been carried upwards, and re-transacted with fresh power and malignity in the spiritual world; their several ages were still extant, and busily at work for themselves, as well as in the souls of their posterity.

The judgment required could not take place in nature, but where all are together, and therefore in the spiritual world, and not upon the earth. This article from Swedenborg also depends upon an acknowledgment of the reality of the life after death; also that heaven and hell are from mankind exclusively, and that all who have been born since the creation are in one or the other of them. Moreover no one is judged from the natural man, or therefore in the natural world, but from the spiritual man, and therefore in the spiritual world, where he is known as he really is. If men judge of actions by the spirit, surely God judges of them by the spirit purely; that is to say, in the real and collective sense, judges the race in the spiritual world. And to conclude these reasons, those who have died are already fully embodied, will need no resurrection of the flesh, and will not and cannot return to earth to seek it.

This judgment of which we are treating is no vindictive assize, such as we are unaccustomed to in this world, but spiritually historic, like the greatest judgments which are written in the records of nations, like the least which are pronounced from the bench by the law. Nay history in its fluctuations

represents these divine settlements and periods better than anything else; and moreover attests them, simply because it proceeds from them. When the vice and pomp of empires stop the world's progress, and new eras struggle vainly for birth against the powers that be, then comes in the hand of God, and restores the balance, by removing the high places where sin has dwelt. And so in the spiritual world. God and his ministers are there more plainly, and the largest rights and the equilibrium of human universes are then decided in their proper assize. Such visitations have been periodical, and are not reserved for the end of time, but rather occur near its beginning, to make the course of heaven free for the emancipated generations. The time when the tares and the wheat are separated, is not at the end of all harvests, but the future has the benefit of the separation, harvests innumerable are gathered thereafter, and fertility only begins when the weeds are exterminated. So also it is that the diviner epochs of the world cannot open until the Day of Judgment is past.

The judgment of 1757 comprised all those who had left the world since the Lord's coming, those who had lived previously having been tried in the judgment which was effected during His advent. It took effect, however, principally upon only one section of that great multitude of spirits. For there are in the spiritual world three departments; viz., heaven, where those are received who are decisively good; hell, or the abode of the contrary persons; and the intermediate state, called the world of spirits, where all are at first assembled, and where those who can keep up the outward semblance of order, whether they be good or bad, are congregated so long as their inward nature does not disclose itself. It was in the latter receptacle that the current of respectable and professing Christendom had disembogued its hourly myriads, and there, under the varnish of

goodness and religion, many had built up their doctrinal cities, and engendered false heavens and apparent churches. Thence they radiated darkness upon the earth, and communicating with heaven by their excellent seeming, and with hell by their hearts, they suffocated and extinguished the divine light which flowed down worldwards from above the heavens. The dispersion of this great hypocrisy was the divine object of the judgment, and consequently the preservation of the balance between heaven and hell, on which human freedom is founded. "The first heaven and the first earth," composed of the above associations, "passed away," in the following manner.

The nations and peoples of seventeen centuries were arranged spiritually, each according to its race and genius: those of the reformed churches in the middle, the Romanists around them, the Mahometans in a still outer ring, the various Gentiles constituting a vast circumference to the area, while beyond all the appearance as of a sea was the boundary. This arrangement was determined by each nation's general faculty of receiving divine truths. Visitation was then made by angels, and admonition given, and the good were singled out and separated by the heavenly ministers. Then there appeared a stormy cloud above those seeming heavens, occasioned by the Lord's especial presence, for guard and protection, in the lowest plane of the real heavens; and as His divine influence came in contact with the falsity and evil of those who were to be judged, their inward parts were manifested; and their characters roused; in consequence of which they rushed into enormities. Then were there great spiritual earthquakes, signs also from heaven terrible and great, and distress of nations, the sea and the salt water roaring. These changes of state were accompanied by concussions of their houses and lands, and gaps were made towards

the hells underneath, communication with which was opened, wherefrom there were seen exhalations ascending as of smoke mingled with sparks of fire. At this time the Lord appeared in a bright cloud with angels, and a sound was heard as of trumpets—a sign of the protection of the angels by the Lord, and of the gathering of the good from every quarter. Then all who were about to perish were seen in the likeness of a great dragon, with its tail extended in a curve and raised towards heaven, brandishing about, as though to destroy and draw down heaven; but the tail was cast down, and the dragon sank beneath. Afterwards the whole foundation subsided into the deep, and every nation, society and person was committed to a scene corresponding outwardly with his own genus, species, and variety of evil; and in this manner the new hells—the prison houses of the first Christian epoch—were formed and arranged.

“After this there was joy in heaven and light in the world of spirits, such as was not before; and the interposing clouds between heaven and mankind being removed, a similar light also then arose on men in the world, giving them new enlightenment.” Such is Swedenborg’s account of that new day that dawned in the last century, and which shines onward since to joy and freedom.

“Then,” says Swedenborg, “I saw angelic spirits in great numbers rising from below, and received into heaven. They were the sheep, who had been kept and guarded by the Lord for ages back, lest they should come into the malignant sphere of the dragonists, and their charity be suffocated. These persons are understood in the Word by the bodies of saints which arose from their sepulchres and went into the holy city; by the souls of those slain for the testimony of Jesus, and who were watching; and by those who are of the first resurrection.”

Of these occurrences our Author was a witness in

the spiritual world, and for many years before they happened he had a presage of them, though neither he nor the angels knew of the period, agreeably to the declaration, that of that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. Yet in his *Diary* (Feb. 13th, 1748, n. 765) he records, that “57, or 1657, has been shewn him in vision; the numbers were written before his eyes, but he did not well know what they meant.” It was a forecast of this judgment, which happened in the year 1757, and took many months to execute. The Romanists were judged first, the Protestants at some interval afterwards.

Since the last judgment no one is allowed to remain in the world of spirits more than 30 years, whereas previously to that event, many had been there for centuries. There will be no more general judgments, because the way to the final state is now laid down for ever, and the outward man can no longer differ from the inward in the spiritual world.

We have dwelt thus long upon Swedenborg’s doctrine and description of the Judgment, because it illustrates the pretensions of his writings in an extraordinary manner, and is the postulate of the descent of a new dispensation to the earth, of which he announced himself to be the messenger. Moreover it explains his views of the future, and authorizes him in a certain sense to break with history, to discard the philosophical stream that has come down through the middle ages, and to look for new developments of the race in no mere perfectioning of the past. It was the church of the New Jerusalem which began to descend from God out of heaven when in 1757 the “age” of primitive Christianity had been “consummated.”

2. The next work which we have to notice is his doctrinal narrative of *Heaven and Hell*, a book which though sufficiently remarkable, yet quells literary

criticism. We would fain speak of its power, but are wrested irresistibly from that purpose, and compelled to canvass its truth. We would fain discuss its beauty and sublimity, but its good and service will have all place. We feel invited to test its reality by evidence, but its moral power appeals only to self-evidence. It belongs in short to a new literature, shaping and fashioning itself from within; it is a spiritual growth, and though you may either adopt or set it aside, you can neither praise nor blame it. This is one reason why Swedenborg's works have obtained such little notice; they are too impersonal: you may speak roughly to them, but they do not answer: nothing but harmony or sympathy comprehends them, or elicits a response. To mere criticism they are lifeless and uninteresting. Their region lies away from brawls. The most spirited impugner does not even contradict them, because *he* is not where *they* are. The ether can only be moved by the ether, or by something still more movingly tranquil.

The work we are considering is on the life and laws of heaven and hell. It comprises their universal gravitation, the appearances and realities of their inward cosmogony not less than the fates of their single inhabitants. It is at once human and immense; the soul's sphere become the law and order of a divine creation. It is no ghostly narrative, but substantial like earthly landscapes, only that vices and virtues are its moving springs, and it is plastic before the eminent life of man. Here are the circumstances to which the heart aspires, and the justice which the poets feign. Here the attributes of deity are conferred in the largest measure upon the creature, and every man lives in a world minutely and changefully answering to his mind and life, as if created by himself.

Space and time, with all their contents, that is to say, the universal world, determined by love and

wisdom, and corresponding, object for subject, with the latter—these constitute the spiritual world. In the heavens, therefore, all are near to God, because all love him, and love is nearness; moreover all are near to each other in proportion to mutual love; and hence the law of love being the space-maker, combines all into the most exact and just societies; and neighbourhood is a special affection, a district is an affection more general, and so forth. Love is combination, decline of love is removal, hatred is opposition and contrariety of space. All moreover are surrounded by lovely and productive objects by the same law, for love is with these objects, and they with love. Heaven therefore clothes itself with all beauty. The opposite to this is the case with hell, whose inhabitants are indeed combined by similarity of passion, but discord reigns in their terrible coagulations: all that is deformed and foul in nature is already in the hells, whose love it effigies, and whose outward kingdom it is. In both states all the objects are spiritual-real; the sun of heaven, never setting, but always in the east, is the sphere of the Lord; its heat is his goodness and its light his truth. In hell there is no sun, but the inhabitants roam in darkness corresponding to themselves, for they are darkness; their light is artificial, as of coal fires, meteors, ignes fatui, and the lights of night; they inhabit scenery of which they are the souls, as bogs, fens, tangled forests, caverns, charred and ruined cities. Such is the grouping of man towards God, of man also to his fellow man, and of man towards the forms of creation. It is the law of love become all-constructive, and extending organically through space and time, that produces the order of heaven and hell.

Heaven is supremely human,—nay more, it is one man. As the members of the body make one person, so before God, all good men make one humanity: every society of them is a heavenly man in a lesser

form, and every angel in a least. The reason is, that God Himself is an Infinite Man, and He shapes His heaven into His own image and likeness, even as He made Adam. The oneness of heaven comes from God's unity; its manhood from His humanity. Heaven has, therefore, all the members, organs and viscera of a man; its angel-inhabitants, every one, are in some province of the Grand Man. Indefinite myriads of us go to a fibre of humanity. Some are in the province of the brain; some in that of the lungs; some in that of the heart; some in the provinces of the belly; some are in the legs and arms; and all, wherever humanized, that is to say, located in humanity, perform spiritually the offices of that part of the body whereto they correspond. They all work together, however spaced apparently, just as the parts of a single man. Their space is but their palpable liberty, and they touch the human atoms next them more closely, by offices which unite them in God, than the contiguous fibres of our flesh. Nothing can intervene between those whom God has joined, but the visible grandeur of all things at once cements and emancipates them.

Hell, on the other hand, is one monster, compact of all spiritual diseases, and compressed into one hideous unity. It works by coercions for all those evil uses that human nature, evil in its ground, requires for its subsistence. It stands against heaven, foot to foot, member against member, and province against province. In its collective capacity it is the Devil and Satan; the Devil is the name and style of its evil, and Satan that of its falsehood.

Good and evil spirits are attendant upon every man; he receives from them all his thoughts and emotions. The good are ever busy, pouring in tendencies to virtue, with intellectual power to apprehend and execute it; the evil are always attempting to drug us with contrary influences. In the balance between their agencies, our freedom lives. Our trials and

temptations arise from these opposing powers, each of which struggles to possess us for itself. The Lord moderates the conflict, and continually preserves the equilibrium. This doctrine is a consequence of the oneness of all creatures, and of their spiritual connectedness, for how can beings so powerful as angels and spirits, and so immediately above and beneath us, fail to operate upon us in their own sphere? Man being only a recipient organ, it is in the nature of things that the creatures next him in the scale, should out of their more subtle life communicate themselves in vibrations to his brain and bodily organs, constituting his outward spiritual world, which he receives according to his own freedom. His lifelong choice of these influences determines his state after death, when he goes to his fathers, that is to say, to those very persons of whom he has made himself an adopted son, by doing their work in this lower world. So by his deeds here, he chooses his company for ever.

The maintenance of a world like the spiritual gives a new idea of the divine almightiness. Where every thought becomes real, how consummate the order must be, to preserve the harmony. Imagine this world, if all our desires and thoughts took effect upon their objects! What destruction would ensue! What exquisiteness of spiritual association then is requisite to perpetuate such a state! What communion of joys there must be in the heavens! What imprisonment of lusts in the hells! The same divine love that is softer than morning in the one, must be chains of adamant in the other, or the inward universe would go to pieces in a moment. Verily such a society requires an active God.

Our limits forbid other details, but we beg the thoughtful reader to notice the coherency of Swedenborg's narration, and on consulting the *Heaven and Hell*, to observe the reality which pervades it. Undoubtedly it portrays such a world as this world pre-

pared for ; yea, such as this world would be if it could. Our sympathies reach up into it ; our trades and professions are learnt for it ; our inner bodies are formed in and like our outer to inhabit it ; our loves and friendships are perpetuated in it if we please ; already our worship traverses it to God ; our Bible in its spiritual splendour is there ; our Saviour in His humanity is its soul ; and indeed, such a world is the home for which our nature, and all nature yearns. Ah ! you will reply, it is too much founded upon human love, and too congenial to our eldest thoughts ! There is truth in the objection.

After perusing such an apocalypse, what a trifler seems the parliament of philosophers debating the immortality of the soul. It is as though, at this date, we should examine the evidence for the existence of mankind. Once for all, the question is killed ; and whether Swedenborg be a true seer or not, he has convinced us at any rate that the Platos and Catos, Seneca and Cicero, were ineffectual because not visionary, and that their words are henceforth waste where not experimental. Worlds can only be explored by travellers thither ; reason and guessing at a distance are futile, unless the feet can be plucked from the old goutiness, the mind quit its fixed thoughts, and the eye alight upon the facts. The conditions of spirit-seeing are as those of nature-seeing ; the man and the sight must come together.

But the eternity of hell,—what does Swedenborg say of that momentous creed ? In the first place, he denies that any existence is fundamentally punishment, but on the contrary, delight. Hell consists of all the delights of evil ; heaven, of all those of goodness. The Lord casts no one into hell, but those who are there cast themselves thither, and keep themselves where they are. It is the last doctrine of free will,—that of a finite being perpetuating for ever his own evil, standing fast to selfishness without end,

excluding Omnipotence in all its dispensations, and making the "will not" into an everlasting "cannot," to maintain itself out of heaven, and contrary to heaven. The question is, whether it is true of man experimentally ; and further, whether any conceivable benevolence can invent reform for every sinner ? Damnation is a practical question. If our human statesmen can abolish the prison and the transportation, the fine and punishment, and draw all men into the social bond, then doubtless the Divine Ruler who works through our means, will accomplish more than this in the upper region in the fulness of his eternal days ; but until all the wickedness of this world can be absorbed and converted, we see little hope from practice for the abnegation of the hells. They are, says Swedenborg, the prisons of the spiritual world, and every indulgence compatible with the ends of conserving and blessing the universe, is accorded to the prisoners. Moreover, the unhappy are not tormented by conscience, for they have no conscience, but their misery arises from that compression which is necessary to keep within bounds those who are not in harmony with the Divine love, and the outgoings of whose terrible life cannot be permitted by the Lord. Lusts which truth and goodness cannot recognize are the worm that never dies and the fire that is not quenched. The collision of falsehoods is the gnashing of hell's teeth. Yet the unhappiest are immortal, because they have an inalienable capacity to love and acknowledge God, and this *capacity* for union with Him, whether exerted or not, is the postulate of religion and the ground of immortality.

The mistake hitherto has lain in conceiving the future life as too unlike the present,—as replete with divine interventions ; whereas the divinity works in both worlds through human means, and in the limits which He sets to His power, creates the freedom of His children. Within that freedom filled with His

laws, (and freedom itself is but His widest law,) He allows mankind to help themselves, and by personal efforts, whether individual or social, to rise or fall, as the case may be. It is only where freedom works itself out and begins to die—when sin grows involuntary, and the heavenly space granted to a world is corrupt and perishing, that a Divine intervention takes place, and a new religion or reattachment to God is effected thereby. But Omnipotence meddles not with that pure power which it has previously given away.

3. But we have now to follow our spiritual traveller through extremely foreign journeys—through the planets of our own universe, and into distant solar systems. Ever since astronomy taught us that the stars are estates like our own world, we have acquired a curiosity about them; we desire to know whether any, and what sort of persons, dwell there; and if we can affirm inhabitants, the faith takes a heart which beats with a natural throb and foretaste of acquaintanceship. Friendship and intercourse with the starry people is a want with every faithful child; God gives all an affectionate curiosity ample to enfold Orion and the Dogstar. Swedenborg felt this too, for he knew as much as the astronomers, and had moreover rooted himself in the belief that a means so immense as the sun-strewn firmament was not meant for the little mankind and the little heaven of one planet, but for human races indefinite in extent, variety, and function. Moreover, the Grand Man or heaven is so immense as to require the inhabitants of myriads of earths to constitute it; those whom our own earth supplies nourish but a patch in the skin of universal humanity; there requires immortal food for every other part, and planetary seminaries in divine profusion where men are reared. The plurality of the angels perfects heaven, just as the multitude and variety of good affections perfects the human mind. Our traveller, therefore, knew that the stars were full of

people, and he soon found that they were not inaccessible.

One means of intercourse with other worlds is as follows. The spirits and angels deceased from each planet, are, by spiritual affinity, near that planet. Every man also is a spirit in his inward essence; and if the proper eyes be opened, can communicate with other spirits. In the higher world into which he is thus admitted, space and time are not fixed, but are states of love and thought. Now this being the case, the passage through states or variations of the mind itself takes the place of passage through spaces. Passage through states is spiritual travelling. Hence when Swedenborg was ten hours in one instance, and two days in another, in reaching certain of the planets, he implies that the changes of state in his mind whereby he approximated to the native spirits of that orb, went on for such a time, or rather were of such a quality. So also if any spirit could be brought into the same state with the spirits of Saturn, he would then be with them, because similarity of state in the spiritual world is sameness of place. Now being thus with the spirits of any particular earth, if the men of that earth had communication with spirits, (which Swedenborg avers to be the case with nearly every planet but our own,) the traveller, through the spirits, might have intercourse with the inhabitants, and might see the surface of their earth through their eyes. It was by this circle that our author visited several worlds, his variations and approximations being directed by the Lord, all for the moral purpose that we might know experimentally that man is the end of the universe, and that where there are worlds there are men, and that we might be taught the immensity, and somewhat of the plan and constitution, of the inward heavens.

"Man," says Swedenborg, "was so created, that whilst living in the world among men, he should also

live in heaven among the angels, and, *vice versâ*; to the end that heaven and the world might be united in essence and action in him; and that men might know what there is in heaven, and angels what there is in the world; and that when men die, they might pass from the Lord's kingdom on earth to the Lord's kingdom in the heavens, not as into another thing, but as into the same, wherein they also were when they were living in the body."

The particulars which our author has given respecting other worlds are homely enough, and more remarkable on the spiritual than on the material side. The spirits of Mercury, we learn, are the rovers of the inner universe, a curious correspondence with the style of the heathen Mercury—the messenger of the gods. They belong to a province of the memory in the Grand Man, and as the memory requires constant supplies to store it with knowledge, so the Mercurials, who are the memories of humanity, are empowered to wander about, and acquire knowledges in every place. The people of the Moon are dwarfs, and do not speak from the lungs, but from a quantity of air collected in the abdomen, because the moon has not an atmosphere like that of other earths; which suggests the analogy of certain of the lower animals that gulp down the air, and give it out again in a peculiar manner; among others a species of frog, which makes thereby a thundering sound like that attributed by our traveller to the Lunarians. These correspond in the Grand Man to the ensiform cartilage at the bottom of the breast bone. It is noticeable as showing the limits of spiritual seership, that Swedenborg speaks of Saturn as the last planet of our system; his privilege of vision not enabling him to anticipate the place of Herschel. A fact to be expected.

The theological particulars in the book are important. We are told that the good in all worlds worship one God under a human form: that the Lord

was born on this earth because it is the lowest and the most sensual, and hence, the fitting place for the Word to be made flesh. By virtue however of the incarnation here, the divine humanity is realized for the entire universe in the other life, all being there instructed in the realities of redemption, and their inward ideas thereby united to that stupendous fact. Swedenborg's work now under consideration, may be characterized as a Report on the Religion of the Universe.

4. *The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine* is a treatise on spiritual ethics, delivering in a clear manner the practical part of the author's system. The reader of it will gain a high idea of the moral requirements that Swedenborg makes upon him. One doctrine brought out in strong relief is the superiority of the affectional to the intellectual element, the predominance of good over truth, of charity over faith, and of deeds over words, before God. Prior to Swedenborg, the human loves or affections were little considered, but he shows that they are our very life, that intelligence is their minister, and that their condition determines our lot in the future world. There is no point in his psychology more brilliantly vindicated than this main law of the power of love. At the end of the work we have his ideas on ecclesiastical and civil government, which are eminently those of conjoint liberty and order. The Lord's ministers are to claim no power over souls, and he who differs in opinion from the minister, is peaceably to enjoy his sentiments, provided he makes no disturbance. The dignity of offices is only annexed to persons, but does not belong to them. The sovereignty itself is not in any person, but is annexed to the person. Whatever king believes contrary to this, is not wise. Absolute monarchs who believe that their subjects are slaves, to whose goods and lives they have a right, are "not kings, but tyrants."

One cannot but regret the absence of biographical

details from this part of Swedenborg's history. The reason doubtless is, that whilst in London, (where we presume he spent a good share of the time from 1747 to 1758,) he had no acquaintance with whom he sympathized on the subjects that now interested him. It was probably not until his theological works had been for years before the public, that he became acquainted with those English friends who have left some record of him. Previously to this, he was known only to those with whom he lodged, or had business. Mrs. Lewis, his publisher's wife, knew him; and "thought him a good and sensible man, but too apt to spiritualize things." He was also fond of the company of his printer, Mr. Hart, of Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, and used often to spend the evening there. But these worthy people contribute no particulars to our biography.

Swedenborg was probably in London during the latter part of 1758; the year in which the works that we have just been speaking of, were printed. We find him returning to Gottenburg from England on the 19th of July, 1759, and here he gave a public proof that he had a more spacious eyesight than was usual in his day. Immanuel Kant, the transcendental philosopher, shall be our historian of the occurrence that took place.

"On Saturday, at 4 o'clock, p.m.," says Kant, "when Swedenborg arrived at Gottenburg from England, Mr. William Castel invited him to his house, together with a party of fifteen persons. About 6 o'clock Swedenborg went out, and after a short interval returned to the company, quite pale and alarmed. He said that a dangerous fire had just broken out in Stockholm, at the Södermalm—Gottenburg is 300 miles from Stockholm—and that it was spreading very fast. He was restless, and went out often. He said that the house of one of his friends, whom he named, was already in ashes, and that his own was in danger. At 8 o'clock,

after he had been out again, he joyfully exclaimed, 'Thank God! the fire is extinguished, the third door from my house.' This news occasioned great commotion through the whole city, and particularly amongst the company in which he was. It was announced to the governor the same evening. On the Sunday morning, Swedenborg was sent for by the governor, who questioned him concerning the disaster. Swedenborg described the fire precisely, how it had begun, in what manner it had ceased, and how long it had continued. On the same day the news was spread through the city, and as the governor had thought it worthy of attention, the consternation was considerably increased; because many were in trouble on account of their friends and property, which might have been involved in the disaster. On the Monday evening a messenger arrived at Gottenburg who was despatched during the time of the fire. In the letters brought by him, the fire was described precisely in the manner stated by Swedenborg. On the Tuesday morning the royal courier arrived at the governor's, with the melancholy intelligence of the fire, of the loss which it had occasioned, and of the houses it had damaged and ruined, not in the least differing from that which Swedenborg had given immediately it had ceased; for the fire was extinguished at 8 o'clock.

"What can be brought forward against the authenticity of this occurrence? My friend who wrote this to me, has not only examined the circumstances of this extraordinary case at Stockholm, but also, about two months ago, at Gottenburg, where he is acquainted with the most respectable houses, and where he could obtain the most authentic and complete information; as the greatest part of the inhabitants, who are still alive, were witnesses to the memorable occurrence."

Kant had sifted this matter, and also that of the Queen of Sweden (p. 127-8 below), to the utmost, by a circle of enquiries, epistolary as well as personal;

and his narrative is found in a letter to one Charlotte von Knobloch, a lady of quality, written in 1768, two years after Kant had attacked Swedenborg in a small work, entitled *Dreams of a Ghost Seer illustrated by Dreams of Metaphysics*. His account comes, therefore, as a suitable testimony. But what proof is so good as a reappearance of the facts? Powers and events of the kind are now common enough not to excite surprise from their rarity. Mesmerism produces a per centage of seers equal occasionally to such achievements. Nay, but the faculty of transcending the horizon of space and the instance of time is as old as history: there have always been individuals who in vision of a higher altitude, saw the refractions of the distant and the future painted upon the curtains of the present. At any rate Swedenborg was aware of the faculty long before he became a seer. Thus in his *Animal Kingdom*, Part VII., p. 237, when speaking of the soul's state after death, he has the following, illustrative of its powers. "I need not mention," says he, "the manifest sympathies acknowledged to exist in this lower world, and which are too many to be recounted: so great being the sympathy and magnetism of man that communication often takes place between those who are miles apart. Such statements are regarded by many as absurdities, yet experience proves their truth. Nor will I mention that the ghosts of some have been presented visibly after death and burial;" &c., &c. To account for events like Swedenborg's vision of the fire of Stockholm, (which also Robsahm says that he foretold,) we need not pierce the vault of nature; this world has perfections, mental, imponderable, and even physical, equivalent to supply the sense. The universe is telegraphically present to itself in every tittle, or it would be no universe. There are also slides of eyes in mankind as an Individual, adequate to converting into sensation all the quick correspondence that exists between

things by magnetism and other kindred message-bearers. It is however only fair to Swedenborg to say, that he laid no stress on these incidental marvels, but devoted himself to bearing witness to a far more peculiar mission.

There is no doubt that the rumour of this affair soon travelled to Stockholm, and coupled with the strange repute in which Swedenborg was already held, stimulated curiosity about him on his return to the capital. The clergy, as may be imagined, were not unconcerned spectators of the doings of one so intimately connected with some of the highest dignitaries of the Lutheran church. At first he had spoken freely to them of his spiritual intercourse, but perceiving their displeasure excited, he became more cautious. A circumstance that occurred showed that even at this time (1760) they were longing to exercise a superintendence over him. They observed that he seldom went to church, or partook of the Holy Supper. This was owing partly to the contrariety of the Lutheran doctrine to his own ideas, and partly, Robsahm says, to the disease of the stone which troubled him. In 1760 two bishops, his relations, remonstrated with him in a friendly manner upon his remissness. He answered that religious observances were not so necessary for him as for others, as he was associated with angels. They then represented that his example would be valuable, by which he suffered himself to be persuaded. A few days previously to receiving the Sacrament, he asked his old domestics to whom he should resort for the purpose, for "he was not much acquainted with the preachers." The elder chaplain was mentioned. Swedenborg objected that "he was a passionate man and a fiery zealot, and that he had heard him thundering from the pulpit with little satisfaction." The assistant-chaplain was then proposed, who was not so popular with the congregation. Swedenborg

said, "I prefer him to the other, for I hear that he speaks what he thinks, and by this means has lost the goodwill of his people, as generally happens in this world." Accordingly he took the Sacrament from this curate.

It was not however the clergy alone who felt an interest in watching his career, but he had become an object of curiosity to all classes. Supernaturalism has charms for every society, whether atheistic or Christian, savage or civilized, scientific or poetic. May we not say, that it is the undercharm of all other interests, and that from childhood upwards the main expectation of every journey, the hope of every uncovering, the joy of every new man and bright word, is, that we may come at length somewhere upon that mortal gap which opens to the second life. Supernaturalism in all ages has had also a commercial side, and has been cultivated as a means to regain missing property, or to discover hidden treasures. The good people of Stockholm were perhaps spiritual chiefly in this latter direction. It was in 1761 that Swedenborg was consulted on an affair of the kind by a neighbour of his, the widow of Lewis Von Marteville, who had been ambassador from Holland to Sweden. Curiosity too was a prompting motive in her visit: and she went to the seer with several ladies of her acquaintance, all eager to have "a near view of so strange a person." Her husband had paid away 25,000 Dutch guilders, and the widow being again applied to for the money, could not produce the receipt. She asked Swedenborg whether he had known her husband, to which he answered in the negative, but he promised her, on her entreaty, that if he met him in the other world, he would enquire about the receipt. Eight days afterwards Von Marteville in a dream told her where to find the receipt, as well as a hair-pin set with brilliants, which had been given up as lost. This was at 2 o'clock in the

morning, and the widow, alarmed yet pleased, rose at once, and found the articles, as the dream described. She slept late in the morning. At 11 o'clock A.M. Swedenborg was announced. His first remark, before the lady could open her lips, was, that "during the preceding night he had seen Von Marteville, and had wished to converse with him, but the latter excused himself, on the ground that he must go to discover to his wife something of importance." Swedenborg added that "he then departed out of the society in which he had been for a year, and would ascend to one far happier:" owing, we presume, to his being lightened of a worldly care. This account, attested as it is by the lady herself, through the Danish General, Von E——, her second husband, was noised through all Stockholm. It ought to be added, that she offered to make Swedenborg a handsome present for his services, but this he declined.

It was in the same year (1761) that Louisa Ulrica, a sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and married to Adolphus Frederick, King of Sweden, received a letter from the Duchess of Brunswick, in which she mentioned that she had read in the Göttingen Gazette an account of a man at Stockholm who pretended to speak with the dead, and she wondered that the Queen, in her correspondence, had not alluded to the subject. The Queen had no doubt heard of the Marteville affair, and this, coupled with her sister's desires, made her wish to satisfy herself by an interview with Swedenborg. Captain Stålhammar out of many authorities is the one whose narrative we select of what passed at that interview.

"A short time," says Stålhammar, "after the death of the Prince of Prussia, Swedenborg came to court [being summoned thither by the senator, Count Scheffer]. As soon as he was perceived by the Queen, she said to him, 'Well, Mr. Assessor, have you seen my brother?' Swedenborg answered, No; where-

upon she replied, 'If you should see him, remember me to him.' In saying this, she did but jest, and had no thought of asking him for any information about her brother. Eight days afterwards, and not four-and-twenty hours, nor yet at a particular audience, Swedenborg came again to court, but so early that the Queen had not left her apartment called the white room, where she was conversing with her maids of honour and other ladies. Swedenborg did not wait for the Queen's coming out, but entered directly into her apartment, and whispered in her ear. The Queen, struck with astonishment, was taken ill, and did not recover herself for some time. After she came to herself, she said to those about her, '*There is only God and my brother who can know what he has just told me.*' She owned that he had spoken of her last correspondence with the prince, the subject of which was known to themselves alone."

"The only weakness," adds the Captain, "of this truly honest man was his belief in the apparition of spirits; but I knew him for many years, and I can confidently affirm, that he was as fully persuaded that he conversed with spirits as I am that I am writing at this moment. As a citizen, and as a friend, he was a man of the greatest integrity, abhorring imposture, and leading an exemplary life."

Did space allow, we could produce a little volume of testimony to the truth of these narrations, as well as fill them up with several interesting particulars. But we will only add what the Chevalier Beylon records of his interview with Louisa Ulrica: "I found an opportunity," says he, "of speaking with the Queen herself, who is now dead, concerning Swedenborg, and she told me the anecdote respecting herself and her brother with a conviction which appeared extraordinary to me. Every one who knew this truly enlightened sister of the great Frederick, will give me credit when I say, that she was by no means enthusiastic or fanatical,

and that her entire mental character was wholly free from such conceits. Nevertheless, she appeared to me to be so convinced of Swedenborg's supernatural intercourse with spirits, that I scarcely durst venture to intimate some doubts, and to express my suspicion of secret intrigues; for when she perceived my suspicion she said with a royal air, 'I am not easily duped;' and thus she put an end to all my attempts at refutation."

Swedenborg did not always comply with the requests of those who sought information about the deceased. We give here a notable instance of the rational limitation which was imposed upon these enquiries.

The following question was written down by Senator Count Rudensköld, at the request of a foreign Minister:—

"Pro Memoria (from 1771.)

"It is hoped that by means of M. de Swedenborg, information may be obtained of what has become of the Prince of Saxe Coburg Saalfeld, named John William, who was lost in the year 1745, without any one having the least knowledge of his fate. Neither his age, nor anything else respecting his person, has been communicated."

The following memorable answer was given by Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg with his own hand:—

"No one can find out anything concerning this, since the departed themselves do not know in what manner they died or perished in this world; for death to them is not death, but an entrance into the other life, and a continuation of the former. They also fully believe and think that there is no death at all; wherefore if any one is asked about his decease in the world, it seems to him as if he was asked about a thing which has not happened. Besides it is difficult to meet with any one who departed this life twenty-seven years ago; for he is then firmly established, in some society,

which it is difficult for me to enter. Should I ask the angels on this subject, they have no such knowledge at all, and as to interrogating the Lord Himself concerning it, it is too small a matter. For the rest I desire for you the Lord's blessing."

But neither Swedenborg's spiritual intercourse, nor the laborious works that he was composing, were an excuse to him for neglecting the affairs of this world when opportunity required, and accordingly in 1761 we find him taking part in the deliberations of the Diet which met in January of that year. Three memorials are preserved which he presented to the Swedish parliament: one, at the opening of the Diet, congratulating the House upon its meeting, counselling the redress of grievances which might otherwise enable the disaffected to impair and destroy the constitution, and especially deprecating that systematic calumny which is not less destructive to the stability of governments than to public and private character. In this paper the quiet sage expresses his preference for that mixed form of monarchy which then prevailed in Sweden, and he ends as he began it, with a powerful appeal to the members to obviate change by the prosecution of useful reforms. In the next memorial (whether these were spoken by himself from his place we do not know) he insists upon some of the same topics, but mainly upon the preservation of the liberties of the people, and upon the French in preference to the English alliance; the latter being incompatible, as he said, with the bond between England and Hanover, which had formerly belonged to Sweden. He forcibly expresses the evils of despotic governments, in which full play is given to the hereditary vices of the sovereign, and denounces absolutism as alike injurious to the ruler and the people, observing that as for the latter, "it is unlawful for any one to deliver over his life and property to the arbitrary power of an individual; for of these God

alone is Lord and Master, and we are only their administrators upon earth." Especially alluding to the danger in which a country stands that is thus subject to an individual, from the subtle power of the papacy, he has the following, which may serve as a specimen of his style in these documents:—

"It would be tedious to enumerate all the misfortunes and the grievous and dreadful consequences which might happen here in the north under a despotic government; I will mention therefore only one—popish darkness,—and will endeavour to exhibit it in its true light.

"We know from experience how the Babylonian whore, which signifies the popish religion, fascinated and bewitched the reigning princes of Saxony, Cassel, and Zweibrücken; also the king of England shortly before the house of Hanover was called to the British throne; and how it is still dallying with the Pretender; how in Prussia likewise it tampered with the present king, then crown-prince, through his own father: not to mention King Sigismund and Queen Christina in Sweden. We are well aware, too, how this whore is still going her rounds through the courts of reformed Christendom. If, therefore, Sweden were an absolute monarchy, and this whore, who understands so well how to dissemble, and to attire herself as a goddess, were to intrude herself into the cabinet of a future monarch, is there any reason why she should not as easily delude and infatuate him, as she did the above-mentioned kings and princes of Christendom? What opposition would there be, what means of self-protection, especially if the army, which is now upon a standing footing, were at the disposal of the monarch? What could bishops and priests, together with the peasantry, do, against force, against the determination of the sovereign, and against the crafty cunning of the Jesuits? Would not all heavenly light be dissipated; would not a night of barbarian

darkness overspread the land; and if they would not be martyrs, must not the people bow down the neck to Satan, and become worshippers of images, and idolaters?

"The dread of this and every other slavery, which I need not here describe, must hang over us for the future, should there take place any alteration in our excellent constitution, or any suspension of our invaluable liberty. The only guarantee and counter check against such calamities would be oath and conscience. Certainly if there were an oath, and the majority were sufficiently conscientious to respect it, civil and religious liberty, and all that is valuable, might, indeed, in every kingdom remain inviolate; but, on the other hand, we must bear in mind that the papal chair can dissolve all oaths, and absolve every conscience, by virtue of the keys of St. Peter. It is easy for a monarch to assert, and with every appearance of truth, that he has no thought of, or desire for, absolute rule; but what each fosters in his heart and keeps studiously apart from the outward man, is known only to God, to himself, and to his private friends, through whom, however, what is hidden occasionally manifests itself. I shudder when I reflect what may happen, and probably will happen, if private interests, subverting the general welfare into a gross darkness, should here attain the ascendancy. I must observe, also, that I see no difference between a king in Sweden who possesses absolute power, and an idol; for all turn themselves, heart and soul, in the same way to the one as to the other, obey his will, and worship what passes from his mouth."

The third memorial is upon the subject of finance, and laments the depreciation of the Swedish paper money in consequence of the suspension of cash payments. The wary senator concludes by saying, that "if an empire could subsist with a representative

currency without a real currency, it would be an empire without its parallel in the world."

We have no further details of Swedenborg's parliamentary career; only we learn from Count Höpken, (for many years Prime Minister of Sweden, and during that time until the revolution in 1772 the second person in the kingdom,) that "the most solid memorials, and the best penned, at the Diet of 1761, on matters of finance, were presented by Swedenborg; in one of which he refuted a large work in 4to on the same subject, quoted the corresponding passages of it, and all in less than one sheet." It appears also that he was a member of the Secret Committee of the Diet, an office to which only the most sage and virtuous were elected. When we consider the mountain of obloquy which rested at that day on a spirit seer, who moreover announced in his own person a new commission from the Almighty, we must grant that there was a wise deportment in Swedenborg, an extraordinary helpfulness for the public service, to maintain him in such a position in the assembly of his nation; nor can it fail to reflect credit upon Sweden herself that she so far appreciated her remarkable son as not to accuse him of any disqualifying madness in the exercise of his public functions. That tolerance of the seer in the statesman heralds a new code of sanity, in which the clearest sight and the most uncommon gifts will no longer be held to be less sound, than dull routine of eye and understanding, provided the stranger accompaniments are backed by virtue and common sense.

"During the sittings of the Imperial Diet," says Robsahm, "he took great interest in hearing what was done in his absence in the House of Nobles, in which, as the head of his family, he had a right to a seat; but when he perceived that hatred, envy and self-interest reigned there, he was seldom after seen in the House. In conversation he freely expressed his

disapprobation of the discord that prevailed in the Diet, and adhered to neither of the parties there, but loved truth and justice in all his feelings and actions."

The discord to which Robsahm alludes as so distasteful to Swedenborg, was doubtless that produced by the factions of the Hats and Caps, the former designating the French, the latter the Russian intrigue in Sweden. These parties kept the nation in a constant ferment, and the thralldom of the king, Adolphus Frederic, by the nobles, was carried to an extent that produced a threat of abdication in 1768. A counter-revolution took place in the reign of his son, Gustavus III., who in 1772, supported by the army and the body of the people, reëstablished the relative powers of the various branches of government nearly as before 1680.

To return from this digression, we now recite an anecdote which makes it appear that Swedenborg had passed into Holland before July, 1762. "I was in Amsterdam," said an informant of Jung Stilling, "in the year 1762 in a company in which Swedenborg was present, on the very day that Peter the Third, Emperor of Russia, died. In the midst of our conversation Swedenborg's countenance changed, and it was evident that his soul was no longer there, and that something extraordinary was passing in him. As soon as he came to himself again, he was asked what had happened to him. He would not at first communicate it, but at length, after being repeatedly pressed, he said, 'This very hour, the Emperor Peter III. has died in his prison,'—mentioning at the same time the manner of his death. 'Gentlemen will please to note down the day, that they may be able to compare it with the intelligence of his death in the newspapers.' The latter subsequently announced the Emperor's death as having taken place on that day."

In 1763* our author published at Amsterdam the following six works:—1. *The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting the Lord.* 2. *The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting the Sacred Scripture.* 3. *The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting Faith.* 4. *The Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem.* 5. *Continuation respecting the Last Judgment and the Destruction of Babylon.* 6. *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom.* We have now to devote a brief attention to the contents of these several works.

The Doctrine of the Lord contains our author's scriptural induction of the divinity of Christ, of the personality of the divine nature, and of the fact and meaning of the incarnation. The theist asks the question, *What is God?* but Swedenborg, the deeper and more childlike question, *Who is God?* one which seems very infantine to our theological artificiality and old want of innocence. In this work the Godhead of our Saviour is made to rest upon the whole breadth of Scripture authority; and is presented as the last principle and the highest theory of the Christian faith. The author does not proceed by the erection of particular texts into standards, but elicits his results from the general face of revelation. His views of the Trinity are given with clearness, and their substance is, that there is a trinity (not of persons, but) of person, in the Godhead, and that Christ is the Person in whom the trinal fulness dwells.

In this creed, Deity is the essential and infinite Man, presented to the perceptive love of the earliest races, but to the senses of the latest. If God can be in contact with our highest faculties,—can create Himself into the sphere of our hearts and minds,—

* It was in this year that Swedenborg's article on *Inlaying* (above, p. 41) appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Academy at Stockholm: probably he had communicated it to that body before he set out on his voyage to Holland.

there is no limiting His power to descend to our other faculties, and to become extant as a man among men,—as a part of the world among other parts.* Nay, by the rules of the soundest philosophy, we ought to look for Him in this field, and hence the question *Who He is?* Which man is the Lord? becomes paramount. Now when the first bond was broken—when the eldest religion perished—from that moment was another bond required, and an incarnation was necessary. This was seen by the ancient people, and as a part of the divine logic of creation, they expected the Messiah, and loved to have posterity because the stream of childhood ran towards the second Adam, Who was to be born in the fulness of time. He came at the end of the Jewish church, when the last link of the old covenant was broken, and He Himself constituted a new and everlasting covenant, uniting man by his very senses with an object “divinely sensual”—with God Himself manifest in the flesh.

There had been upon this earth a succession of churches, each with its own bond, or its peculiar religion. The Adamic church—the Adam of Genesis—was a church of celestial love, with wisdom radiating from the inmost heart, in harmony, with the paradisaical creation, and naming the creatures after its own truth. This was Eden, the only heaven which has yet existed upon earth. To this elevated church the Lord was a divinely angelic man, seen by celestial perceptions, and even represented to the senses; for the senses opened into heaven. This church descended through many periods, which are typified in the Word as the posterity of Adam, a definite genealogy of celestial-spiritual states; and its consummation was

* If God can be *inspirituate*, surely He can also be *incarnate*; for spirit is more bodily than flesh. To deny the *possibility* of the Incarnation, is a denial throughout the soul of the possibility of God's presence, and a resolution of all the religious ideas into a Deific selfishness, such perhaps as Fichte preached.

the flood, when it perished, and only Noah and his sons—a lower or spiritual church—survived that suffocation whereby the race was extinguished so far as breathing the highest atmosphere of love was concerned; the Noachists however living in a new dispensation, to respire a secondary religion. Every such declension is a veritable drowning, in which the higher perceptions cease, and a certain prepared remnant of the universal humanity survives to people a new dry land on a lower level. The celestial church had for its spring spontaneous love; the spiritual church, on the other hand, conscience. Even the latter, however, did not stand, but its decay is written from Noah to Abraham, when “the angel of Jehovah” was no longer manifested to any faculty. The two realities of the church, love, and conscience as a ground of faith, having been destroyed in the soul, a church of formalities was the only descent remaining, and this was the Jewish dispensation, which however was not a church, but only the representation of one. Obedience was the spring of this last covenant, and so long as the people kept it, natural and national blessings were given them from on high. At length even obedience came to an end, and neither victories in war, nor harvests divinely given, nor terrors denounced by prophets, nor actual evil fortune, could keep the people to their bond. The basis of creation could no longer support the falling superstructure. The resources of finite humanity were exhausted, and it only remained for Him who was the Creator, to become the Redeemer—for Him who was the Alpha, to become the Omega of His work. He came into the world by the world's ways of birth, that He might absorb the world, and be under it sustaining as above it creating,—that is to say, be All in all, the First and the Last. The infinite entered the real world by the real means—by the gates of generation, and the Lord became incarnate through

the Virgin Mary. All His progress also was real, and through mundane laws; and thus His sensual and maternal humanity was united with His divinity by the like trials—by the like education,—as we ourselves experience in the regeneration. Swedenborg's view of the Lord's life is indeed totally practical, and the life of every regenerating man is an image of that process whereby the maternal humanity became a divine humanity, the Son of God, God with us, Jesus Christ, God and man. The subject cannot be thought of from metaphysical postulates, but only from a life in harmony with it, that is to say, from the process whereby each man subdues his own sensuality and evil, unites his outward with his inward mind, and finally becomes a spiritual person even in whatever pertains to the exercise of his senses. In the Lord however all that which in us is finite, was, and is, infinite; and thus instead, like us, of only subduing those hellish minds which are immediate to ourselves, His redeeming victories over selfishness and worldliness, subjugated all that is hellish—in the language of Swedenborg, all the hells; and now holds them, for whosoever lives in, and to Him, in everlasting subjugation. This is redemption, and this was the final purpose for which the Lord assumed humanity, and appeared upon this earth, His operations upon which extend through all systems of worlds, and from eternity to eternity. These are the stages through which the Lord presented Himself according to our need, first as God-angel, and lastly as a God-man.

The trinity then is in, and from, Jesus Christ, the new name of our God. The Father is His divine love; the Son is His divine wisdom, that is to say, the divinely human form in which He is self-adapted to His creatures, or a personal God; the Holy Spirit is the influence which He communicates to individuals and churches. This trinity is imaged in the soul,

body, and operation of every man. The Father is inaccessible to us out of Christ, even as our own souls are not to be reached by others but through our bodies. All worship therefore is to be directed to Jesus Christ alone; and in the heavens the wisest angels know no other father. Thus there is oneness and body in our adoration.

The Divine Love and Wisdom, which we notice next, furnishes the rational counterpart to the *Doctrine of the Lord*. It is a treatise on the divine attributes, in which affirmation and self-evidence are the method, and the truly human testifies of the divine. Man, it is clear, must think of God as a man—must think from his own experience towards divine virtues—from his own deeds towards God's deeds, which are creation. The *must* in this case is a necessity of our being, which is the same thing as to say, that it is God's ordinance, and the true method. It is therefore a verity substantial as our souls, nay consubstantial with their Maker. No idealism here intervenes, but we touch the solidity of eternal truth, and in our minds and bodies we have an attestation and vision of the Creator. But if God be the infinite man, the universe which proceeds from Him must represent man in an image, and all the creatures must likewise so represent. Mineral, vegetable and animal forms, nay atmospheres, planets and suns, are then nothing less than so many means and tendencies to man, on different stages of the transit, and finite man resumes them all, proclaims visibly their end, and may connect them with their fountain. It is throughout a system of correspondences, all depending upon the activity of a personal God, as the substance of the latter depends upon the intervention of God in history, as Jesus Christ. Remove from the centre of the system the position that God is a man, and He becomes necessarily unintelligible to mankind; He has made them think of Him otherwise than as He is; they com-

municate with Him by no religion, but the beginning of their knowledge is darkness, its object a mere notion, and their love falls into a void: there is in short no correspondence between the Creator and any creature. Maintain however that master position, and humanity is the way to the Divine Humanity, the high road of the living truth.

The path by which God passes through heaven into nature is laid down in distinct or *discrete degrees*, and "the doctrine of degrees" furnishes a principal instrument with Swedenborg in these elucidations. Degrees are the separate steps of forms or substances, the measured walk of the creative forces; thus the will in one degree is the understanding in the next, and the body in the third: the animal in the highest is the vegetable in the second, and the mineral in the lowest: and all these are one, like soul and body; and are united, and each uses the lower, by the handles of its harmony with inferior utilities; just as a man is united with, and makes use of, the various instruments which extend the powers of his mind and arms through nature. The world therefore is full of interval and freedom, and in the movements of each creature, whereby it lays hold of whatever supports it, the whole becomes actively one, and marches forward in the realms of use, where it meets the Omnipotent again.

The Doctrine of Discrete Degrees is of inexhaustible interest, and merits long consideration. It furnishes a divinely revealed distinction between Man and Animals; a barrier that cannot be overpassed, and will be an impregnable position in the coming time against the assaults of materialism, which places all natures in the same plane. It exhibits the steps by which the Creator evolves the Creation from Himself. It is the key to the effects of Man's regeneration in the natural world, which if it takes place, opens in him the higher or celestial and spiritual degrees,

though unconsciously to himself while here; but consciously when he enters the spiritual world. On the other hand, if his native spiritual and celestial degrees are not opened, and evil of life keeps them shut, he remains an infernal natural man after death, and is not a living but a "dead man;" and though he still survives, and has his own delights of evil, he is said to be "lost."

The whole subject is so important that we leave it to Swedenborg himself to state it from the *Divine Love and Wisdom*.

"These three degrees with the angels are named CELESTIAL, SPIRITUAL, and NATURAL; and for them the celestial degree is the degree of love, the spiritual degree is the degree of wisdom, and the natural degree is the degree of uses. The cause why these degrees are so named is, that the heavens are distinguished into two kingdoms, and the one kingdom is named the celestial, and the other the spiritual kingdom; to which is added a third kingdom, which is occupied by men in the world, and this is the natural kingdom. And the angels of whom the celestial kingdom consists, are in love; and the angels of whom the spiritual kingdom consists, are in wisdom; but men in the world are in uses: and therefore these kingdoms are conjoined. How it is to be understood that men are in uses will be declared in the next Part.

"It has been told me out of heaven, that in the Lord from eternity, Who is Jehovah, before the assumption of the Human in the world, there were the two prior degrees actually, and the third degree in potency, such also as they are with the angels; but that after the assumption of the Human in the world, He also put on the third degree, which is called the natural, and that by this He was made man like to a man in the world; yet with the difference that this degree, like the prior degree, is infinite and

uncreate; but that those degrees in angel and in man are finited and created. For the Divine, which had filled all spaces apart from space (Nos. 69 to 72), penetrated to the very ultimates of nature. But before the assumption of the Human, the Divine influx into the natural degree was mediate through the angelic heavens, but after the assumption immediate from Himself. Which is the cause that all the churches in the world before His Advent were representative of spiritual and celestial things, but after His Advent they were made natural, spiritual and celestial, and representative worship was abolished. This again was the cause that the sun of the angelic heaven, which, as was said above, is the prime proceeding of His Divine Love and Divine Wisdom, after the assumption of the Human shone forth in more eminent beam and splendour than before the assumption. This also is understood by these words in Isaiah: 'In that day the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days' (xxx. 26). These things are said of the state of heaven and the church after the Lord's advent into the world. And in the Apocalypse: 'The face of the Son of Man was as the sun shineth in his strength' (i. 16). And elsewhere, as in Isaiah lx. 20; 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4; Matt. xvii. 1, 2. The mediate illustration of men through the angelic heaven, which existed before the coming of the Lord, may be compared to the light of the moon which is the mediate light of the sun; and forasmuch as this light after His coming was made immediate, it is said in Isaiah that 'the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun;' and by David: 'In His day shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace until there is no longer any moon' (Ps. lxxii. 7): this also is spoken of the Lord."

"So long as man lives in the world, he knows

nothing of the opening of these degrees within him. The cause is that he is then in the natural degree, which is the ultimate, and out of that he then thinks, wills, speaks and acts; and the spiritual degree, which is interior, does not communicate with the natural degree by continuity, but by correspondences; and communication by correspondences is not sensibly felt. Nevertheless when a man has put off the natural degree, which is the case when he dies, he then comes into that degree which has been opened with him in the world; he in whom the spiritual degree has been opened, into the spiritual degree: he in whom the celestial degree, into the celestial. He who comes after death into the spiritual degree, no longer thinks, wills, speaks and acts naturally, but spiritually; and he who comes into the celestial degree, thinks, wills, speaks and acts according to his degree. And because communication between the three degrees is possible only through correspondences, therefore the differences of love, wisdom and use according to these degrees are such that they have no community with each other through any kind of continuity. From these things it is plain that there are three degrees of altitude for man, and that they may be opened successively."

One other extract on the evolution, nature and position of animal life in both the worlds: a subject treated in the obverse by Darwin and his school.

"I heard two Presidents of the English Royal Society, Sir Hans Sloane and Martin Folkes, conversing together in the spiritual world concerning the existence of seeds and ova, and concerning the productions out of these in earths. The former ascribed the whole to nature, and contended that power and force for producing such effects by means of the heat of the sun had been committed to nature by creation. The other maintained that the force is continuous from God the Creator in nature. To settle the con-

tention, a beautiful bird was shown to Sir Hans Sloane, and he was asked to look at it carefully, and to notice whether it differed in the smallest particular from a similar bird on earth. He held it in his hand, examined it, and said that there was no difference. He knew all the time that it was no other than an affection of a certain angel represented outside of him as a bird, and that it would vanish or cease with his affection; which also happened. Sir Hans Sloane was convinced by this experiment, that nature contributes absolutely nothing to the production of vegetables and animals, but that that which flows in from the spiritual world into the natural does all. He said that if that bird in its minimal parts were filled in with corresponding matters from the world, and so were fixed, it would be a durable bird, like the birds on earth. And that the case is similar with those things which are from hell. To this he added, that if he had known what he now knew of the spiritual world, he would have ascribed to nature no more than this, that it subserves the spiritual which is from God, for fixing those things which inflow continually into nature."

The Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture is the doctrine of the Lord, and of the manhood of God, in its middle form, for the Word is the wisdom whereby both the world was made and man is regenerated. It is a law of divine order, that whatever is omnipresent and all prevalent, is also in time centred in its own form; for no creative attribute is lost by diffusion, but reappears in fuller splendour when its orb is complete. This is the order of the incarnation. And so also when the Word has created all things, and moved through humanity, when deep has called unto deep, and speech has overflowed from human tongues, the same Word takes at last a form among its creatures, and appears among our words as the Book of God. Its form in this case is determined by

those to whom it comes. It is given in the lowest speech, that it may contain all speech, and be adequate to the whole purpose of redeeming mankind. Such a Word is the Bible. Before the present Bible, however, there existed an ancient Word, (still extant, according to Swedenborg, in Great Tartary,) of which the Book of Jashur, the Wars of Jehovah, and the Enunciations formed part: this was the divine voice to an earlier humanity. The Word which we now possess is written in four styles. The *first* is by pure correspondences thrown into a historical series; of this character are the first eleven chapters of Genesis narrating down to the call of Abraham. The *second* style is the historical, consisting of true historical facts, but containing a spiritual sense. The *third* style is the prophetic. The *fourth* style is that of the Psalms, between the prophetic style and common speech.

It is the divine sense within the letter that constitutes the holiness of the Bible: those books that are wanting in this sense are not divine. The following books are the present Word. "The five books of Moses, the book of Joshua, the book of Judges, the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, the Psalms of David, the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; and in the New Testament, the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; and lastly the Apocalypse."

The Word exists in the heavens equally as upon the earth, but in its spiritual and celestial sense. Its stupendous powers and properties are there evident, examples of which are given by Swedenborg. If it is read in holy moods, heaven sympathizes; the devout mind enters it as a Shekinah, and is angel-haunted: when love and innocence read it upon earth, its inward life is perused equivalently by special angels

and the letter in correspondence becomes divine and holy. Especially so when little children read it, and its literal sense is offered obediently to the informing influx. In such moments the veil opens, and a marriage of heaven and earth is consummated. The perpetual holiness of the Word to us depends upon no "mechanical inspiration;" viewed as a book, the Bible is dead like other books, but the mind that approaches it, is influenced as it deserves, and spirit and life come down accordingly. The affinities that constitute presence in the other life illustrate the character of the Word. The letter is truth in a fixed circumstance, answering to the Lord and the whole heaven, and he who reads it aright, engenders for himself divine and spiritual associations. Within it dwells the living God. The conditions of its inspiration are like those of the animation of our bodies. The letter as well as the body is in itself motionless and inanimate; but both have souls, and when mankind addresses the literal Word, it hears and quickens from its divine life, as our frames, when objects strike them, feel and act from the life within.

This assertion of the Word's divinity implies a counter statement regarding the writers of the Bible. The more the genius in any work, the less is the work its author's; the more the property, the less can it be owned. No man ever claims his inspired moments, until afterwards, when he is dis-inspired. The *divinity* however of a work abnegates its instruments, let them have been as busy as they will: they are mere tools, chosen only to deposit the work in some one place or age. The inspired penmen then are simply clerks, notwithstanding that their names appear upon the letter, fitting it to Jewish or Christian times. The patriarchs, prophets, psalmists and evangelists are not holy men; they are not even venerable for the most part, but the voice of sacred history itself

generally assails them. "Their names," says Swedenborg, "are unknown in heaven." There are no saints with earthly names, but only sinners, scarlet more or less. God's is all the glory, but Abraham, Moses, David, or John, are plain mortals like ourselves, entitled to no great consideration when their office is laid aside, and their divine insignia are put off. The men "after God's own heart" are only so for a time and a mission: every one is "a man after God's own heart" for the functions that he does best. Holiness is not involved. The Jews, the chosen people of God, were chosen because they were the worst of people, for redemption begins at the bottom. In admitting therefore the divinity of the Word, we rid ourselves of the Bible writers, and their idiosyncrasies; and we know that as the fixed Word was produced through them, they necessarily occur in the lowest stratum of human history.

We have not space here to mention the various modes of inspiration (by voices, visions, etc.) recounted by Swedenborg from the facts of the case and the letter of the Scripture, and which he himself also experienced for the instruction's sake: they are indeed interesting, and comport with circumstances that are at this day coming to light, at the same time that they contrast, *toto cælo*, with metaphysical philosophy. We can only however notify to the reader, that Swedenborg has given their theory from the experimental or real, and biblical side, for there is much in the Bible upon the subject when it is looked for with a scientific aim.

It may here be expedient to give Swedenborg's *dictum* on the Epistles, upon which the doctrinals of Christendom are so commonly founded.

"With regard," says he, "to the writings of Paul and the other apostles, I have not given them a place in my *Arcana Cælestia*, because they are dogmatic writings merely, and not written in the style of the

Word, like those of the prophets, of David, of the Evangelists, and like the Revelation of John.

"The style of the *Word* consists throughout in *correspondences*, and thence effects an immediate communication with heaven; but the style of these dogmatic writings is quite different, having, indeed, communication with heaven, but only mediately or indirectly.

"The reason why the apostles wrote in this style, was, that the first Christian Church was then to begin through them; consequently, the style which is used in *the Word* would not have been proper for such doctrinal tenets, which required plain and simple language, suited to the capacities of all readers.

"Nevertheless, the writings of the apostles are very good books for the church, inasmuch as they insist on the doctrine of charity, and of faith from charity, as strongly as the Lord Himself has done in the Gospels and in the Revelation of John; as will appear evident to any one who studies these writings with attention.

"In the *Apocalypse Revealed*, No. 417, I have proved that the words of Paul in Rom. iii. 28 are quite misunderstood, and that the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which at present constitutes the theology of the reformed churches, is built on an entirely false foundation."

We notice in the doctrine of Scripture, as throughout the author's works, a turning of the tables in the matter of evidence. Instead of commencing enquiries with no beliefs, he accepts the most universal creeds as the hypotheses of investigation, and puts them to the fact. To commence from nothing is to end in nothing, as the present biblical scholars illustrate. But Swedenborg takes the divinity and holiness of the Bible as his postulate, and then looks for the like in the text. His method, to say the least, has ended in no *reductio ad absurdum*, but the interpretation

gained has confirmed the truth of the preliminaries. No writer has shown so sublime a quality in the Bible as Swedenborg, none has added to the probability of its divine origin so practical and scientific a demonstration. If wisdom and beauty shown in nature be God's evidence there, then by parity of reason, wisdom and goodness expounded in Scripture should be the witness of his *Word* in the latter sphere. The theorem of plenary inspiration, on the contrary, can only be settled by this procedure, which makes one process for all truths; but never by what are called "evidences" proceeding from void hearts and unbelieving understandings. If nature even were investigated by the latter, it would never declare its author, or let its unhappy questioner escape from the labyrinth of its contradictions and interpolations.

The Doctrine of Faith in Swedenborg's writings occupies a part of great simplicity. Faith, says he, is an inward acknowledgment of the truth, which comes to those who lead good lives from good motives. "It ye will do the works ye shall know of the doctrine." Faith therefore is the eye of charity. Spiritual clear-sightedness is its eminent attribute. It is not the organon of mysteries, for there is no belief in what we do not understand. There may be suspension of the judgment, but never faith. The highest angels do not know what faith is, and when they hear of any one believing what he does not understand, they say, "this person is out of his senses." With them, faith is only truth. Divine and human knowledges are under the same class; for both there is the base of scientific proof: but with this caution, that each state apprehends only its own objects, and that practical goodness is the ground upon which religious truth can be properly or profitably received.

The Doctrine of Life is equally simple. We are to shun, as sins against God, whatever is forbidden in the Ten Commandments, and to do the duties of our

callings. The shunning of evils as sins is the first necessity; the doing good is possible after that. Charity consists in this course, and faith follows it by divine ordination. A life of this kind is the only contribution that each man can make to the New Jerusalem. No one however can do good which is really such, from self, but all goodness is from God.

For the rest, our sage is no counsellor of asceticism; he admits us to enjoy the good things of this life, in preparation for those of another; he advocates no self-immolating pietism, but "a renunciation of the world during a life in the world;" and as sense is an everlasting verity, he teaches the expansion of the senses, under the spiritual powers.

Under this head we may properly cite the "Rules of Life" which he laid down for his own guidance, and which are found interspersed in various parts of his Manuscripts. They are the following. "1. Often to read and meditate on the Word of the Lord: 2. To submit everything to the will of Divine Providence: 3. To observe in everything a propriety of behaviour, and always to keep the conscience clear: 4. To discharge with fidelity the functions of his employment and the duties of his office, and to render himself in all things useful to society."

In 1764 Swedenborg published at Amsterdam a continuation of his work on the divine attributes, under the title, *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Providence*, in which he identifies Providence with the Lord's government of mankind. He states the ends which the Divine Providence has in view, whereof the first and last is the formation of an angelic heaven out of the human race. He then propounds various laws of the Divine Providence which are unknown in the world, and occupies a considerable part of this majestic Treatise, with setting us right upon points on which infidelity founds objections, and in short, with vindicating the ways of God to man. He insists on

the universality of Providence, and on its presence with all men alike, the wicked as well as the good, but the former will not receive its blessings, and their freedom of choice is respected. Hell is the false creation which they make, the Lord sets their places there, and ordains them for their greatest good. Upon the subject of predestination, Swedenborg maintains that all are predestined to heaven, and it is their own doing if they do not arrive thither. Momentaneous salvation from immediate mercy is impossible, and the belief in it is "the fiery flying serpent of the church," which raises sensual evils to a new deadliness of sting, and moreover imputes damnation to the Lord. The following memorable extracts will give some idea of the Author's scope in the *Divine Providence*.

"The Angelic Heaven is one of the things necessary to be known; for every one who has any religion thinks of heaven, and wishes to go there; but heaven is not granted to any others than those who know the way to it, and walk in that way. This way also may in a measure be discerned from a consideration of the character of those who constitute heaven, in that no one becomes an angel, or comes into heaven, but he who brings angelhood with him from the world; and angelhood has in it a knowledge of the way by walking in it, and a walking in the way through a knowledge of it. In fact, in the spiritual world there are actually ways which lead to each several society of heaven, and to each society of hell; and every one sees his own way as it were from himself. The reason why he so sees is, because the ways there are for each several love; and the love opens the particular way; and it leads to the man's companions. Other ways than those of his own love no man sees. From which it is plain that the angels are none other than heavenly loves; for otherwise they would not have seen the ways leading to heaven."

And again :—

"Heaven is distinctly divided into as many societies as there are organs, viscera, and members in man; and in these one part cannot possibly be in any other place than its own. Since, therefore, the angels are such parts in the Divine heavenly Man, and no others become angels but those who have been men in the world, it follows that the man who suffers himself to be led to heaven, is prepared by the Lord continually for his own place, which is brought about by such an affection of good and truth as corresponds to it. And into this place each man angel is inscribed after his departure from the world. This is the inmost of the Divine Providence in the case of heaven."

"But the man who does not suffer himself to be led and assigned to heaven, is prepared for his own place in hell. For man of himself tends continually to the bottom of hell; but he is continually drawn back by the Lord; and he who cannot be held back, is prepared for a definite place there; and is in fact inscribed into it immediately after his departure from the world. And this place in hell is opposite to some certain place in heaven; for hell is in exact opposition to heaven. Wherefore as the man angel has his own allotted place in heaven according to an affection of good and truth, so the man devil has his own place allotted to him in hell, according to an affection of evil and falsity. The two opposites arranged in exact contrariety of corresponding parts are held together in reciprocal connection. This is the inmost of the Divine Providence in the case of hell."

We now turn aside for a moment from Swedenborg's published works, to his posthumous *Diary*, the last date in which is the 3rd of December, 1764. This day-book he had begun in 1747, perhaps after finishing the *Adversaria* on Genesis and Exodus, the last date in which is February 9th in the latter year. We must attempt to convey to the reader some notion of

this extraordinary Manuscript, which extends over a period of seventeen years. We have termed it a Day-book, and such it veritably was in the intention of the book maker, being written on those English "oblong folios" which are so common in our counting houses. In these business-like volumes thought and vision are duly "entered" with the greatest regularity; in the earlier part of the work the date is generally subjoined to the paragraphs, and here and there parts are crossed out, having been faithfully "posted," and "delivered" into the author's published books. The whole is in more than six thousand paragraphs, of which the first hundred and forty-eight are missing: it makes six closely printed octavos, and considering the difficulties of the original, to which we can bear witness, it is but fair to mention the name of the late J. F. I. Tafel, its editor, Professor of Philosophy and Librarian of Tübingen, as a reputation that will stand out in future time in the first rank in the early literature of Swedenborg and the New Jerusalem. All honour to his consummate life-long assiduity.

Almost every reader would smile doubtfully if he perused a page or two of this *Diary*. He would meet with conversations with Moses and Abraham, Aristotle, Cicero and Cæsar Augustus, Charles the XIIth of Sweden and Frederic of Prussia, the author of *The Whole Duty of Man*, and other of the deceased, and, as the belief practically runs, the annihilated worthies and notables of history. He would find them treated as living men and real forces. He would learn of strange punishments and new criminalities; of fathomless pools of evil; of goodness detected in those that history condemns, and of the mask of excellence quite fallen away from some of her brightest exemplars; of Paul* and David

* On this subject the reader is referred to *David and Paul*, by the Rev. Augustus Clissold, B.A.

among the lost, and Mahomet in strange vicissitudes. But let him read on, and the laugh dies before the supernaturalness of the unbending context. Moreover amid the narrative, he meets with thoughts of the newest import; with lovely sentiments fragrant towards God and man; and with lessons pointing life and the world towards plain goals of blessedness. It will be no doubtful contest with him between the sanity and the insanity of the author; strangeness will recede by degrees, over-mastered by the moral element that explains the appearances into truths; and whatever the verdict be, it will be granted that a profound meaning lurks in even the oddest forms of this spiritual common-place book.

A great part of it dwells upon unhappy themes, and indeed no book more deranges one's habits of thought than this unreserved *Diary*. Our crotchet of the abstract nobleness of spirits receives there a rude shock. Our fathers' souls are no better than ourselves; no less mean and no less bodily; and their occupations are often more unworthy than our own. A large part of their doings reads like police reports. Even the angels are but good men in a favouring sphere: we may not worship them, for they do not deserve it; at best, they are of our brethren, the prophets. It is very matter-of-fact. Death is no change in substantials. The same problems recur after it, and man is left to solve them. Nothing but goodness and truth are thriving. There is no rest beyond the tomb but in the peace of God which was rest before it. This is the last extension of ethics, and while it deprives the grave of every vulgar terror, it lends it the terrors of this wicked world, which itself is the reign and empire of the dead. Moreover while the *Diary* abolishes our spiritual presumptions, it justifies to nearly the whole extent the low sentimental credence on ghostly subjects, as well as the traditions and the fears of simple mankind. The

earthly soul cleaves to the ground and gravitates earthwards, dragging the chain of the impure affections contracted in the world; spirits haunt their old remembered places, attached by undying ideas: hatred, revenge, pride and lust persist in their cancerous spreading, and wear away the incurable heart strings: infidelity denies God most in spirit and the spiritual world; nay, staked on death it ignores eternity in the eternal state with gnashing teeth and hideous clenches: and the proof of spirit and immortal life is farther off than ever. The *régime* of the workhouse, the hospital and the madhouse is erected into a remorseless universe, self-fitted with steel fingers and awful surgery; and no hope lies either in sorrow or poverty, but only in one divine religion, which hell excludes with all its might. Human nature quails before such tremendous moralities: freedom tries to abjure the life that it is, and calls upon the mountains and rocks to cover and to crush it. A new phase appears in the final state; the memory of the skies is lost; baseness accepts its lot, and vile uses are compulsory: wasting ensues to compressed limb and faculty, and the evil spirit descends to his mineral estate, a living atom of the second death. Impossibility is the stone of his heart, and crookedness the partner of his understanding. He is still associated with his like in male and female company, and he and his, in the charry light of hell, which is the very falsity of evil, are not unhandsome to themselves. Such is the illusive varnish which in mercy drapes the essential ill-favour of devils and satans.

We cannot dismiss the *Diary* without observing how true Swedenborg is to himself in a record whose publication he did not contemplate. His public words are at one with his secret thoughts; he is as grave in heart as in deportment. To one who has perused the work, the question of sincerity never more occurs: he would as soon moot the sincerity of a tree. And

indeed the enquiry after sincerity, in the ordinary sense, goes but a little way in the determination of such a case.

Besides the *Diary*, Swedenborg for several years had been engaged upon an extensive work on the Apocalypse, which is published among his *posthuma*, but which he did not complete. The original edition of the *Apocalypse Explained* occupies four large 4to volumes. That he intended to produce it is evident from the clearly written manuscript with occasional directions to the printer, and from the first volume of the copy being marked in the title-page with London, 1759; which renders it moreover probable that he had begun the work after finishing the *Arcana* in 1756. However this may be, we learn that on one occasion he "heard a voice from heaven, saying, 'Enter into your bed-chamber, and shut the door, and apply to the work begun on the Apocalypse, and finish it within two years.'" The *Apocalypse Explained* is one of the finest of his works, interpreting that book of the Testament down to the tenth verse of the nineteenth chapter, and pregnant, if we may use the expression, with a number of distinct treatises on important subjects; but it has been supposed that he thought it too voluminous and elaborate. The Apocalypse itself is, however, the Book of the Last Judgment; that event had not occurred when Swedenborg wrote the *Apocalypse Explained*: and therefore he wrote the *Apocalypse Revealed** in the light of it. See Tafel's *Documents*.

It does not appear whether Swedenborg revisited Sweden from 1762 to 1764: he may have resided in Amsterdam during the whole period, or he may have paid a visit to England; but it is probable that he returned home during the latter year, for in the first half of the next year he was again in Sweden. Soon,

* *The Apocalypse Revealed*; in which are disclosed the *Arcana* therein foretold, and which have hitherto remained concealed.

however, he set forth upon new travels, and in 1765 came from Stockholm to Gottenburg, where, during a week's stay, while waiting for a vessel to England, he accidentally met Dr. Beyer, Professor of Greek and Member of the Consistory of Gottenburg, who having heard that he was mad, was surprised to find that he spoke sensibly, displaying no marks of his alleged infirmity. He invited Swedenborg to dine with him the day following, in company with Dr. Rosén. After dinner Dr. Beyer expressed a desire to hear from him a full account of his doctrines; upon which Swedenborg, animated by the request, "spoke out so clearly and wonderfully," that both the doctors were astonished. They did not interrupt him, but when he had finished, Dr. Beyer requested him to meet him the next day at Councillor Wenngren's, and to bring with him a paper containing the substance of his discourse, that he might consider it more attentively. Swedenborg complied, kept the engagement, and taking the paper out of his pocket in the presence of Beyer and Wenngren, he trembled and appeared much affected, the tears flowing down his cheeks; and presenting the paper to Dr. Beyer, he said, "Sir, from this time the Lord has introduced you into the society of angels, and you are now surrounded by them." They were all affected. He then took his leave, and the next day embarked for England. From that time Dr. Beyer became a student of his doctrines, and in spite of persecution, he remained stedfast to them throughout his life, and busied himself upon an elaborate Index* to Swedenborg's theological writings, which was published thirteen years after, just as Dr. Beyer died.

Swedenborg did not make a long stay in England, but after a few weeks or months proceeded to

* *Index initialis in Opera Swedenborgii Theologica*. 4to. Amstelodami, 1779. An admirable work, which belongs to the future care of the New Church.

Holland, spending the winter of 1765-66 at Amsterdam, where he published the *Apocalypse Revealed* in the spring of the latter year. This work, as was his wont, he gave away liberally to the Universities and superior clergy, and to many eminent persons, in England, Holland, Germany, France and Sweden.

The *Apocalypse Revealed* is an interpretation of the book of Revelation, on principles similar to those made use of in the *Arcana Cælestia*, and which we have already mentioned. The spiritual sense alone furnishes the key to this often expounded Scripture, and those who were ignorant of that sense, could not unfold its true meaning. It does not foreshadow outward events either in the church or the world, or the progress of the Christian church from its beginning; but it records in spiritual symbols *the end of that church*, and the establishment of its successor: both in the spiritual world. It is the book of the Last Judgment, which we have described above. It commences as "the Revelation of Jesus Christ," signifying that those who acknowledge His divinity by good lives from charity and faith, are the witnesses and partakers of this Apocalypse. It appeals to all in the Christian church, under the sevenfold designation of the churches of Asia, whose variety describes the entire circuit of the life and faith of Christendom in the two worlds. It then describes their exploration, by the influx of divine light from the ancient heavens: first, the exploration of the reformed church, and lastly that of the catholic: the doctrine of justification by faith being typified by the dragon; the dominion of the Romanist church, by the great harlot sitting upon many waters. It proceeds to narrate the divine judgment on these churches: also in the nineteenth chapter, the glorification that ensued in heaven when the catholic religion was removed; and in the twentieth, the damnation of the dragon. Then

proceeds, chap. xxi., xxii., the descent from heaven of the New Jerusalem, with a description of its spiritual glories.

A volume, unless it were a reprint, would not give an analysis of this book on the Apocalypse. When we say that the commentary takes the text word by word, and translates it into spirit, we still convey but a slender idea of what is done. Our own first impressions on reading the work will not soon be forgotten. Following the writer through the long breaths and flights of this vast empyrean, we were momentarily in anxious fear that to sustain a context of such was impossible. Each fresh chapter seemed like a space that mortal wing must not attempt; and yet the fear was groundless, for our guide sailed onward with a tranquil motion as if he knew the stars. History and common sense, panting and gasping science, philosophy in its better part, above all, the confidence in a divine support and a supernal mission, appeared to be covertly and unexpectedly present, to annihilate difficulties, and pave the skyey way of this humble voyager. And when we had again alighted from that perusal which strained every faculty to the utmost, it was as though we had been there before, so entire was the impression of self-evidence that was left upon the mind. Genesis and the Revelation were closely at one in this marvellous Apocalypse, thenceforth the most open of the Bible pages: the two ends of the Scripture called to each other; an arch of divine light spanned the river of the Word, and the original Eden blossomed anew in the midst of the street of the holy city. The author the while disclaimed the authorship, for "what man," says he, "can draw such things from himself?"

We here insert a Memorable Relation from among those in the *Apocalypse Revealed*.

"Whilst I was engaged in the explication of the twentieth chapter [of the Apocalypse], and was

meditating upon the Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet, a person appeared to me, and asked me what I was meditating about? I said, the False Prophet.

"Then he said, I will conduct you to the place where those are who are meant by the False Prophet. He informed me that they are also the persons meant by the Beast that rose out of the earth, which had two horns like a lamb, and spoke as a dragon.

"I followed him; and I saw a crowd, and in the midst of it leading ecclesiastics who taught that man is saved by faith alone; and that works are good, but not for salvation; and that still they are to be taught from the Word, in order that the laity, and especially the simple, may be kept more strictly in the bonds of obedience to the magistracy; and may be urged as it were by religion, and therefore from within, to exercise moral charity.

"And one of these leaders observing me, then said, Would you like to see our fane in which there is an image representative of our faith?

"I approached, and looked. And indeed the fane was magnificent; and in the middle of it there was the image of a woman clothed in a scarlet robe, and holding in the right hand money in gold, and in the left a chain of pearls. But the fane and the image were both of them creations of phantasy. For infernal spirits by means of phantasies are able to represent magnificent things, by closing up the interiors of the mind, and opening only its exteriors. But when I perceived that these objects were juggles of this description, I prayed to the Lord, and suddenly the interiors of my mind were opened; and then I saw, instead of the magnificent fane, a house cracked from the roof to the ground, all tumbling to pieces; and in place of the woman I saw in the house a phantasm hanging, with a head like a dragon, a body as of a leopard, and feet as of a bear; just as the beast out of the sea is described in the thirteenth

chapter: and instead of a floor there was a bog with a multitude of frogs in it. And it was told me that under the bog there was a large hewn stone, beneath which lay the Word carefully hidden away.

"On seeing all this I said to the Juggler, Is this your Fane? and he said, It is.

"But on the sudden then the interior sight was opened for him also, and he saw the same things that I did. Upon which he cried out with a loud voice, What is this? and whence is this?

"And I said, This comes of light from heaven, which lays bare the nature of every form, and in this case the nature of your faith separate from spiritual charity.

"And straightway an east wind blew, and carried away everything that was there, and also dried up the bog, and laid bare the stone under which the Word was lying. And after this, a warmth as of spring breathed from heaven; and lo! then in the same place a tabernacle appeared, simple in its outward form.

"And the Angels who were with me said, 'Behold the Tabernacle of Abraham, such as it was when the three Angels came to him, and announced the future birth of Isaac. It appears simple to the eye, but nevertheless becomes, according to the influx of light from heaven, more and more magnificent.'

"And it was granted to them to open a heaven in which spiritual angels were who abide in wisdom, and then, by the light flowing in from thence, that tabernacle appeared as a temple, similar to the temple at Jerusalem; and when I looked into it, I saw that the foundation stone under which the Word had been reposed, was studded all over with precious stones, from which as it were lightning flashed upon the walls, covered as they were with forms of cherubs, and beautifully variegated them with colours.

"As I was wondering at these things, the Angels said,

You shall see something still more wonderful. And it was granted them to open the third heaven, in which there were celestial angels who abide in love, and then by the light flowing in from thence, that whole temple vanished away, and in place of it the Lord Alone was seen, standing on the foundation stone, which was the Word, in the form in which He was seen by John. (Apoc. chap. 1.) But holiness now filled the interiors of the mind of the Angels, and they would have fallen on their faces; and therefore the path of light from the third heaven was suddenly closed by the Lord, and the path of light from the second heaven was opened; in consequence of which the former aspect of the temple returned; and also of the Tabernacle; but it was in the temple.

"These things were illustrations of what is meant by these words in this chapter: 'Behold the Tabernacle of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them.' And by these words: 'I saw no Temple' in the New Jerusalem, 'for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb is its Temple.'"

In 1766, simultaneously with the *Apocalypse Revealed*, Swedenborg republished his youthful work on a *New Method of Finding the Longitudes*. This method, as he informed the Swedish Archbishop, Menander, "of calculating the ephemerides by pairs of stars, several persons in foreign countries were then employing, who had experienced great advantage by the observations made according to it for a series of years." His faculty of remark, it appears, was still awake to whatever he thought might be useful in the mundane sense. It is not improbable that he was solicited to this reprint.

After the 15th of April he again visited England for two or three months, watching the disposition of our bishops, and any favouring events in the theological world.

Mr. Springer, the Swedish Consul in London, is

the only person who mentions any particulars of this visit. He and Swedenborg had been good friends in Sweden, but Springer was surprised at our author's continued intimacy with him, "as he was not a man of letters." This, however, was perhaps one ground of the friendship. Swedenborg desired Springer to procure him a vessel for Sweden and a good captain, which he did. An agreement was made with one Dixon. Swedenborg's effects were carried on board, and as his lodgings were at a distance from the port (probably in Cold Bath Fields), he and Springer took for that night (Sept. 1, 1766) a bed at Mr. Bergström's Hotel, the King's Arms, in Wellclose Square. Swedenborg went to bed. Springer and Bergström from an adjoining room heard a remarkable noise, and could not imagine its cause. They peeped through a door with a little window in it that looked into the room where he lay, and they saw him with his hands raised as towards heaven, and his body appearing to tremble. He spoke much for half an hour, but they could not understand what he said, except only when he let his hands fall down, they heard him ejaculate, My God. He then remained quietly in bed. They went into the room, and asked him if he was ill. He said, "No, but he had had a long discourse with some of the heavenly friends, and was in a great perspiration." He got up and changed his shirt, and then went to bed again, and slept till morning. This anecdote, trivial as it may appear, portrays in a measure his physical state during one of his trances. His natural voice, it seems, was stirred during a spiritual conversation. This occasionally occurs in sleep, where a lively dream will call forth sounds and movements from the sleeper. The trembling of the body is note-worthy, and is often witnessed in the first phases of *ecstase* and catalepsy. As to the noise that was heard, it might have been merely Swedenborg's voice muffled by distance, or

rendered imperfect by his state ; or it might have proceeded from the spirits who were with him ; for spirits, according to the *Seeress of Prevorst*, and homelier authorities, can make themselves audible more readily than visible, particularly if they are of a heavy and worldly cast ; in which case they can even move heavy bodies. These, however, that Swedenborg was talking with, were heavenly spirits.

In the morning Captain Lixon came for Swedenborg, and Springer took leave of him, and wished him a happy voyage. Bergström asked him how much coffee he should pack for him, as he took a certain portion of it daily. Swedenborg said that no great quantity would be needed, as by God's aid they would enter the port of Stockholm at 2 o'clock on that day week. It happened exactly as he foretold, as Dixon upon his return informed Springer. A violent gale accelerated the voyage, and the wind was favourable to every turn of the vessel. Dixon told Ferelius that he had never in all his life had so prosperous a transit.

Swedenborg arrived at home on the 8th of September, and for some time resided in the Södermalm, the southern suburb of Stockholm. His house was pleasantly situated, neat and convenient, with a spacious garden, and other appendages. His own room or study was small, and contained nothing elegant. It was all that he wanted, but would have satisfied few other men. He kept two servants, a gardener and his wife, to whom he gave the produce of his garden. In 1767, for the convenience of his numerous visitors, he had a handsome summer house erected, with two wings, one of which contained his library. He afterwards built two other summer houses, one of them after the model of a structure that he had admired at a nobleman's seat in England. The other was square, but could be turned into an octagon by folding back the doors across the corners. To add

to the amusement of his friends and their children, he had a labyrinth constructed in a corner of his garden, and a secret door, which, on being opened, discovered another door with a window in it. This appeared to open into a garden beyond, containing a shady green arcade with a bird cage hanging under it ; but the window was a mirror, and presented only a reflection of the objects around. He took great pleasure in his garden ; it was ornamented after the Dutch fashion, and cost him a considerable sum annually to keep it up, but in his latter years he suffered it to go into disorder.

Notwithstanding that he was very accessible, he took precautions to stand on a fair footing with his visitors. During interviews he always had one of his domestics present in the room, and insisted upon the conversation being carried on in Swedish. Widows went to him to enquire about the state of their husbands in the other world ; and others, who looked upon him as a soothsayer, besought him with questions about property lost or stolen. When people went to him for such purposes, he often refused to gratify them, and earnestly advised them to abandon their quest. He had perhaps learnt prudence from experience, especially of the fair sex ; for he used to say in justification of his caution : "Women are artful ; they might pretend that I have sought a near acquaintance with them ; and besides, it is well known that persons turn and distort what they do not understand."

The following anecdote from his female domestic at once illustrates what we have been relating, and shows the candour of the man. Bishop Hallenius, the successor of Swedenborg's father, paying a visit to Swedenborg, the discourse began on the nature of common sermons. Swedenborg said to the bishop, among other things : "You insert things that are false in yours ;" on this, the bishop told the gardener, who

was present, to retire, but Swedenborg commanded him to stay. The conversation went on, and both turned over the Hebrew and Greek Bibles, to show the texts that were agreeable to their assertions: at length the conversation finished, by some observations intended as reproaches to the bishop on his avarice, and various unjust actions; "You have already prepared yourself a place in hell," said Swedenborg; "but," added he, "I predict that you will some months hence be attacked with a grievous illness, during which time the Lord will seek to convert you. If you then open your heart to His holy inspirations, your conversion will take place. When this happens, write to me for my theological works, and I will send them to you." In short, after some months had passed, an officer of the province and bishoprick of Skara came to pay a visit to Swedenborg. On being asked how the Bishop Hallenius was, "He has been very ill," replied the officer, "but at present he is well recovered, and has become altogether another person, being now a practiser of what is good, full of probity, and returns sometimes three or four fold of property for what he had before unjustly taken into his possession." From that time the bishop became an open supporter of Swedenborg's doctrine.

The most harmless men are not on that account without enemies, particularly if they add to prudence plain and honest speaking, as was the case with Swedenborg; for nothing excites some persons to violence more than the spectacle of that self-collectedness and self-respect which they do not feel in themselves. Swedenborg underwent this penalty of his character. On one occasion a young man went to his house with the intention of assassinating him. The gardener's wife, observing something extraordinary in his manner, told him that Swedenborg was out, but he would not believe it, and rushed past her towards the garden. Happily a nail in the lock of the door

caught his cloak, and in his attempt to disengage himself, his naked sword fell from under the cloak out of his hands, and thus detected, he became embarrassed, and escaped with all speed. He was afterwards, the story says, killed in a duel. No doubt, however, this was an isolated instance, the result of some frenzy or madness acting upon an excitable brain, for we do not find that this person knew anything of Swedenborg.

In the autumn of this same year he was visited by the Rev. Nicholas Collin, a Swedish clergyman, who has left a pleasing account of his interview with Swedenborg, who "at that time," he says, "was a great object of public attention in the capital, and his extraordinary character was a frequent topic of discussion." The old man received the youthful student very kindly (Collin was then but twenty years of age), and in the course of a three hours' conversation, reiterated the fact of his spiritual intercourse, as declared in his works. Collin requested of him as a great favour, to procure him an interview with his brother, deceased a few months previously. Swedenborg answered, that God, for wise and good purposes, had separated the world of spirits from ours, and that communication was not granted except for cogent reasons; whereupon Collin confessed that he had no motives beyond gratifying brotherly affection, and an ardent wish to explore scenes so sublime and interesting. Swedenborg told him, that "his motives were good, but not sufficient; that if any important spiritual or temporal concern had been involved, he would have solicited permission from those angels who regulate such matters." We cite the latter sentence to show what noble offices are assigned to finite beings. Indeed an instructive chapter might be written from Swedenborg's life and works, upon the new functions connected more or less with this world,—as of attending the birth of the newly dead into the spiritual

state, of educating departed infants and simple spirits, of governing sleep and infusing dreams, and indefinite other things besides,—which constitute a department of the duties of the human race translated into the sphere of spiritual industry. For heaven is the grand workman; the moments of the eternal sabbath are strokes of deeds: and the more of these can be given to be done by men and angels, the more is the creation real, because co-operating with God.

In 1767* our author was still in Stockholm, observing with care the effect produced by his writings. At this time he noted that his countrymen began to think more of charity than heretofore, and "to be persuaded that faith and charity cannot be separated." And in reply to a question, "How soon the New Church is to be expected?" he wrote, that "the Lord is preparing at this time a new heaven of such as believe in Him, and acknowledge Him to be the true God of heaven and earth, and also look to Him in their lives, by shunning evil and doing good." "The universities of Christendom," says he, "are now being instructed for the first time, and from them will come ministers: but the new heaven has no power over the old clergy, who are too well skilled in the doctrine of justification by faith alone." For as he observes in another letter, "all confirmations in matters pertaining to theology, are as it were *glued fast into the brains*, and can with difficulty be removed; and while they remain, genuine truths can find no place."

It was in this year that Kant's attention was first called to the narrations which were rife about Swedenborg (see above, pp. 121, 122). The philosopher

* "In his journal for 1767 there is a note in his own handwriting, in which he relates that he has spoken with the celebrated musician, Roman, on the day of the celebration of his funeral." We copy this extract from the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, 1790, p. 54. What journal it can be that is referred to, we do not know. Johan Helmik Roman was the father of Swedish music, and died in 1767.

describes his previous state of mind with regard to supernatural occurrences. He had made himself acquainted with a great number of the most probable stories, but considered it wisest to incline to the negative side, "not that he imagined such things to be impossible," but because the instances are in general not well proved. This not unreasonable scepticism he brought to Swedenborg's cases. He had received the account of them from a Danish officer, his former pupil, who at the table of the Austrian Ambassador, Dietrichstein, at Copenhagen, with several other guests, read a letter just received by the host from Baron de Lutzow, the Mecklenburg Ambassador at Stockholm, in which he said that he, in company with the Dutch Ambassador, was present in the Queen's palace when Swedenborg gave her the message from her dead brother. This authentication surprised Kant, and as he prettily says: "Now in order not to reject blindfold the prejudice against apparitions and visions by a new prejudice, I found it desirable to inform myself of the particulars of the transaction." How few of the matter-of-fact people "find it desirable to inform themselves!" But to continue, Kant instituted searching enquiries, which ended in corroborating the affair; and Professor Schlegel also added his voice, that it could by no means be doubted. Kant's Danish friend, being about to leave Copenhagen, advised Kant to open a correspondence with Swedenborg himself. This he did, and his letter was delivered by an English merchant at Stockholm. Swedenborg received it politely, and promised to reply. As no answer came, Kant commissioned an English gentleman then at Königsberg, and who was going to Stockholm, to make particular enquiries respecting Swedenborg's alleged "miraculous gift." This friend stated in his first letter to Kant, that the most respectable people in Stockholm attested the account of the transaction alluded to. He himself,

however, he confessed, was still in suspense. His succeeding letters were of a different purport. He had not only spoken with Swedenborg, but had visited him at his house, and was in astonishment at his case. Swedenborg, he said, was a reasonable, polite and open-hearted man. He told him unreservedly that God had accorded to him the gift of conversing with departed souls at pleasure. He was reminded of Kant's letter: he said that he was aware he had received it, and would already have answered it, but that he should proceed to London in the month of May this year (1768), where he would publish a book in which the answer, as to every point, might be met with. There is somewhat of uncommon candour in Kant's deportment throughout this enquiry, the more so as the transcendental system that he excogitated excludes reality with triple bars from every sphere, and so aggravates what the philosophers term the "subjective" portion of man's nature, as to make all objects unattainable in their true selves. But Kant had genius sufficient to let him out occasionally from the prison of his intellectual reveries. The anecdote is due to Kant himself, even more than to Swedenborg.

It is perhaps in this period of his life that we may place an interview with him recorded by Atterbom, the poet, in his *Swedish Seers and Bards*.* "A single anecdote," says Atterbom, "in relation to his spiritual intercourse, we cannot refrain from introducing,

* *Svenska Siare och Skalders tecknade af P. B. A. Atterbom, Första Delen.* Upsala, 1841. In this work, which from what we hear, ought to be known to the English public, Atterbom considers Swedenborg chiefly from an æsthetic point of view, as a thinker on the beautiful. "Swedenborg's visions or Memorable Relations," says he, "not unfrequently vie in beauty with their biblical prototypes, and many of them, if they had been found in the works of Dante, or Milton, would long since have been trumpeted forth over Europe with rapturous plaudits." The parts of the work which we have seen are on Swedenborg, Ehrensvar, and Thorild.

especially as none of those hitherto known so artlessly delineates his peculiar and unrestrained mode of living at the same time both in the natural and spiritual world. The occurrence took place with a distinguished and learned Finlander (Porthan),* who, during the whole of his life, believed rather too *little* than too *much*. This learned man, when a young graduate from the university, was on his travels, and came to Stockholm where Swedenborg was living. Far from being a Swedenborgian, he on the contrary regarded the renowned visionary as an arch-enthusiast; still he thought it his duty to visit this wonderful old man, not merely out of curiosity to see him, but also from a cordial esteem for one who in every other respect was a light of the North, and a pattern of moral excellence. On his arrival at the house in which Swedenborg resided, he was introduced into a parlour by a good-humoured old domestic, who went into an inner apartment to announce the stranger, and immediately returned with an apology from his master, as being at that moment hindered by another visit, but which would probably not be of long duration; on which account the young graduate was requested to be seated for a few minutes, and was left in the parlour alone. As he happened to have taken his seat near the door of the inner apartment, he could not avoid hearing that a very lively conversation was carried on, and this, during a passing up and down the room: in consequence of which he alternately perceived the sound of the conversation at a distance, and then again immediately near himself; and plainly, so that every word might be heard. He observed that the conversation was conducted in Latin, and that it

* "Gabriel Henry Porthan became afterwards Professor in Åbo, and has left a name in Swedish literature as an antiquary and humanist." He died March 16, 1804, aged 65. Bishop —, Porthan's disciple, and Atterbom's friend, and still alive in February, 1844, is the authority for the narration, as Professor Atterbom has himself informed me.—J. J. G. W.

was respecting the antiquities of Rome : a discovery, after which, being himself a great Latinist, and very conversant on the subject of those antiquities, he could not possibly avoid listening with the most intense attention. But he was somewhat puzzled when he heard throughout only *one* voice speaking, between pauses of longer or shorter duration ; after which the voice appeared to have obtained an answer, and to have found in the answer a motive for fresh questions. That the person whose voice he heard was Swedenborg himself, he took for granted, and the old man was observed to be highly pleased with his guest. But who the latter was, he could not discover ; but only that the conversation was concerning the state of persons and things in Rome during the time of the emperor Augustus : and particulars on these points were elicited which he with unavoidable and increasing interest endeavoured to lay hold of since they were altogether new to him. But as he became more and more absorbed in the subject itself, and was endeavouring to forget the marvellous in the treatment of it, the door was opened ; and Swedenborg, who was recognizable from portraits and descriptions of him, came out into the parlour with a countenance beaming with joy. He greeted the stranger, who had risen from his seat, with a friendly nod, but merely in passing by him : for his chief attention was fixed upon the person who was invisible to the stranger, and whom he conducted with bows through the apartment and out at the opposite door : repeating at the same time, and in the most beautiful and fluent Latin, various obligations, and begging an early repetition of the visit. Immediately afterwards, on entering again, he went straight up to his later guest, and addressed him with a cordial squeeze of the hand : ' Well, heartily welcome, learned Sir ! excuse me for making you wait ! I had, as you observed, a visitor.' The traveller, amazed and embarrassed : ' Yes, I observed it.'

Swedenborg : ' And can you guess whom ? ' ' Impossible.' ' Only think, my dear Sir : Virgil ! And do you know : he is a fine and pleasant fellow. I have always had a good opinion of the man, and he deserves it. He is as modest as he is witty, and most agreeably entertaining.' ' I also have always imagined him to be so.' ' Right ! and he is always like himself. It may, perhaps, not be unknown to you, that in my first youth I occupied myself much with Roman literature, and even wrote a multitude of *Carmina*, which I had printed at Skara ? ' ' I know it, and all judges highly esteem them.' ' I am glad of it ; it matters little that the contents were respecting my first love. Many years, many other studies, occupations and thoughts, lie between that period and the present. But the so-unexpected visit of Virgil awakened a crowd of youthful recollections ; and when I found him so pleasant, so communicative, I resolved to avail myself of the occasion, to ask him of things concerning which no one could better give information. He has also promised me to come again before long. . . . But let us now talk of something else ! It is so long since I have met with any one from Finland ; and besides, a young Academician ! Come in, and sit down with me ! With what can I serve you ? But first give me an account of everything you can, both old and new.' And afterwards,—thus continues the witness and deponent of this scene to one of his intimate friends, from whose lips we received the account,—afterwards, during the whole period of my intercourse with this singular old man, whom I subsequently visited several times, I did not perceive the least that was extraordinary, excepting only his amazing learning in all the branches of human science and investigation. He never afterwards touched upon anything supernatural or visionary. So insane as he appeared to me at first, I nevertheless separated from him with the greatest gratitude, both for his

highly learned conversation, and his constant and exceeding kindness both in word and deed; and above all, with the greatest admiration; although mingled with regret that on a certain point a screw in the venerable man was loose or altogether fallen away."*

Here is a royal gate into history, for the future to open. If we want the biography of Virgil, let Virgil tell it; no one else can satisfy either biographer or reader. Virgil and his memory are alive; for God is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living. There are no dead in the vulgar sense, and there is no oblivion. There is want of spiritual sympathy in us, which kills the living, and obliterates their memory. The ancient men are secret, for we are estranged from their love-line. Antiquarianism cannot dig them up, because they are not underground. But likeness of mind is an exorcism that they cannot refuse, and which properly applied, will refresh their oldest memories, and make them confidential. The highest who has left the earth, has its dear images with him, albeit quiescent for the most part, but may be led down, when the Lord pleases, by the stairs of the unforgettable past, and visit our abodes. It is only to open his mind world-wards, and straight he can commune with an earthly seer—if he can find one. The love we bear to human story, the insatiable curiosity towards early times, the very madness of antiquarianism, demand this authentication, which, it is plain, would be simply satisfying and nothing more. It is then extraordinary that it is not common.

The exact month of Swedenborg's next foreign

* But see the Rev. Professor Tafel's reasons in Vol. 2, pp. 721-2 of his *Documents concerning Swedenborg* for thinking that "we cannot place implicit confidence in the whole of the above account, but must regard some parts of it at least as of doubtful authority." Atterbom, the poet, is responsible for the mode and details of the narration.

travel is uncertain, but just before he undertook it, his friend Robsahm met him in his carriage riding out of Stockholm, and asked him how he could venture upon so long a journey, being eighty years old? and whether they would ever meet again? "Have no anxiety on that subject," said he, "for if you live we shall meet again here, as I have yet another journey like this before me." We also have it recorded that his repeated voyages to and fro had become a matter of notoriety at Elsinore, where he frequently visited the Swedish consul, M. Rahling; and it was during the transit we are referring to that he made the acquaintance of General Tuxen at the Consul's table. The General questioned him upon the report of the Queen of Sweden's affair, and received an account of it from his own lips. He also asked him how a man might be certain whether he was on the road to salvation, or not. Swedenborg told him that this was easy; that he need only examine himself by the ten commandments; as for instance, whether he loves and fears God; whether he is rejoiced at the welfare of others, and does not envy them; whether he puts aside anger and revenge for injuries, because vengeance belongs to God: and so on. If he can answer this examination in the affirmative, he is on the road to heaven; if his heart is the other way, then he is on the road to hell. This led Tuxen to think of himself, as well as others, and he asked Swedenborg whether he had seen King Frederick V. of Denmark, deceased in 1766, adding that though some human frailty attached to him, yet he had certain hopes that he was happy. Swedenborg said, "Yes, I have seen him, and he is well off, and not only he, but all the kings of the house of Oldenburg, who are all associated together. This is not the happy case with our Swedish kings." Swedenborg then told him that he had seen no one so splendidly ministered to in the world of spirits as the Empress Elizabeth of Russia,

who died in 1762. As Tuxen expressed astonishment at this, Swedenborg continued: "I can also tell you the reason, which few would surmise. With all her faults she had a good heart, and a certain consideration in her negligence. This induced her to put off signing many papers that were from time to time presented to her, and which at last so accumulated, that she could not examine them, but was obliged to sign as many as possible upon the representation of her ministers: after which she would retire to her closet, fall on her knees, and beg God's forgiveness, if she, against her will, had signed anything that was wrong." When this conversation was ended, Swedenborg went on board his vessel, leaving a firm friend and future disciple in General Tuxen.

It is probable that Swedenborg went from Stockholm to London in the middle of the year, according to what he signified to Kant's friend. However, on November 8, 1768, we again meet him at Amsterdam, whither he had gone to print another important work, *The Delights of Wisdom in relation to Conjugal Love, and the Pleasures of Insanity in relation to Scortatory Love*. This book he published with his name, as written by Emanuel Swedenborg, a Swede.

In every new view of mankind, and in each fresh system of doctrines which professes to apply itself to the wants of an age, the subject of marriage can hardly fail to have an important place; in many systems indeed, it furnishes the *experimentum crucis*, and at once decides their pretensions. It now devolves upon us to say a few words upon this topic, in its connection with Swedenborg's doctrines.

The author affirms, upon a union of experimental with rational evidence, that sex is a permanent fact in human nature,—that men are men, and women, women, in the highest heaven as here upon earth: that it is the soul which is male or female, and that sex is thence derived into the mortal body and the

natural world; therefore that the difference of sexes is brighter and more exquisite in proportion as the person is high, and the sphere is pure. The distinction not only reaches to the individual, but it is atomically minute besides; every thought, affection and sense of a male is male, and of a female is feminine. The smallest drop of intellect or will is inconvertible between the sexes; if man's, it can never become woman's; or *vice versâ*. The sexual distinction is founded upon the two radical attributes of God,—upon His divine love, and His divine wisdom; whereof the former is feminine, and the latter masculine. The union of these in Him is the divine marriage; and the creation proceeds distinctly from them, and images, or aspires to, a marriage in every part. The lightning fiats twine and kiss ere ever they separate. The world would be, and the church is, an everlasting wedlock. Therefore there are marriages in heaven, and heaven itself is a marriage. The text that "in heaven they neither marry, nor are given in marriage," is to be understood in a spiritual sense. It signifies that the marriage of the soul with its Lord, or what is the same thing, the entrance of man into the church, which is the bride of the Lamb, must be effected in this world, or it cannot have place afterwards. It also signifies, that angels, whether men or women, already have the marriage principle in them as a ground of their angelhood, or they could not acquire it after death: hence they *are* virtually married, and do not marry, nor are given in marriage. It is as though it had been said, that no one goes to heaven, but those who already are in heaven; or have heaven in them, and are heaven. But this Scripture by no means excludes the blessed from that conjugal union which is their summary bliss, and which is the foregone conclusion of their admission to eternal life. The text, however, does exclude sensual and natural views of marriage, and so is suitable in its

form to the Jewish mind and the corporeal nature, which otherwise would have conceived only carnally of a celestial bond.

We must guard, however, against supposing that the spiritual is not real and bodily; for everything inward has its last resort in substantive organization. The bodies of angels are as ours in every part, but more expressive, plastic, and perfect. Their conjugal union, which is true chastity and playful innocence, is bodily like our own; nay, far more intimate: its delights, immeasurably more blessed and perceptible than on earth, commence in the spirit, and are of the spirit even in the body: its powers, springing from a divine fountain, are marred by no languor, but spire in an unconsuming flame of perennial virility and productiveness. This world, however, and not the other, is the theatre of proliferation; the fixed soil of nature alone produces new beings; whence angelic marriages do not engender natural but spiritual births, which are the various endowments of love and wisdom; wherefore, by this offspring or *in-spring*, the partners breed in themselves human fulness, which consists in desiring to grow wise on the man's part, and in loving whatever belongs to wisdom on the wife's. Thus conjugal love is a means of their eternal progression, by which they become younger and younger, more and more deeply the sons and daughters of the Almighty, and are born again from state to state as happier children in the cycle of wedded satisfactions.

To conjugal love our author assigns the highest position in the soul: in its descent it is the gate by which the human race enters into existence; in its ascent and upper faculty it is the door through which the Lord enters into the mind. It is the appointed source of all creatures, from which beneath springs generation, and regeneration comes through it from above. The purity of the source determines the world's condition at any given period, influencing

posterities organically, and the mind and will in their finest springs. Nay, upon this depends the spiritual world itself; for earthly marriage is the seminary of heaven, as adultery is the seminary of hell. Children born of parents imbued with truly conjugal love, derive from those parents the conjugal principle of goodness and truth, which gives them an inclination and faculty, if sons, to perceive whatever appertains to wisdom, and if daughters, to love the things that wisdom teaches.

It is plain that of an affection so exalted there are few patterns to be found on earth, and that even where it dwells, it may not be manifest; and for this reason our author was obliged to describe it from experience in heaven, where it reigns in open day as a fundamental love. Fact alone supplies description, and the facts of conjugal union were not given on this globe in that age; it was then needful to explore the heavens in which that youngest ancient love is stored. For this purpose, as the ages are differenced by this very affection, he prayed to the Lord to be allowed to visit them, and travelled in spirit with an angel-guide to the golden, silver, copper, iron, and still later periods; that is to say, to the men and women who are still in those states. And everywhere he learnt from the best and the eldest the tale of their faithful loves; or, as in the lower ages, observed that the decadence of their state was in proportion to their want of fealty to the primeval bond. He learnt that the marriage of one man with one wife is the law of heavenly union, corresponding to the unity of God, to the single-heartedness of man, to the marriage of the good with the true, and of the Lord with the church. Polygamy, however, and varying unions, were the sign and the cause of a broken religion, and the avenues of sensuality towards hell. He brought back to this earth the documents of the other life on this point, the Reports of the great epochs, and these are given in his

memorable relations, a series of narratives between the ethical chapters, which complete by experience the field which is given through doctrine in the latter.

Never was monogamy so rescued from the baser justifications of worldly prudence, and placed so merely on the pedestal of religion and divine necessity, as in Swedenborg's system; with him it is the ideal of union, and everything in the sexual commerce is tried and judged by its tendency or approximation to indissoluble marriage. Well may the state be guarded, which is to be eternal: well may the force be subject to heavenly rules, whose effects extend through all generations in the lines of time, and upward through the hierarchies of that past, which is but the depth and height of the present.

Such, at least, is the consequence of the creed, that sexual distinctions are eternal, and monogamy their divine end: it evidently confers the heart of spirituality upon the marriage-tie, and tends to maintain it for both divine and human reasons. Nor are the celestial reports devoid of interest in the matter; for were it not for them, the sanctity of marriage would fail of present *experience*, and come in time into the hands of the philosophers, who keep no account of their receipts.

In the latter part of the work the author treats of the misfortunes and abuses of the sexual relation; of its present state in the world; of its substitutes in cases where marriage cannot be contracted; and of other kindred subjects. He also depicts the nature of adultery from his experience of hell. With regard to most of these topics, we must refer the reader, to the book itself, but we may observe that it is said that fornication is light in proportion as marriage is contemplated, and that "pellicacy," or the keeping to one mistress, is preferable to vague amours; that it is allowable in certain circumstances to certain temperaments; always provided that the mind intends

marriage when events allow. With regard to divorce, it is not allowable save only for adultery; but as to separation *a mensa et toro*, there are many "legitimate, just and conscientious causes" of it, all of which are also permissions of concubinage, practised under rules, and entirely separated both as to time and place from the conjugal relation; but such provisional intercourse must on no account coexist with marriage connexions.

How far the latter permissions, recognized as rules of conduct, are compatible with our social state and present manners, we leave to others to determine; as also whether such practices, already common, would be shorn of their defilement, and converted into ways to marriage, by the application of conscientious rules. The question is engaging attention enough in many countries. Swedenborg has only discussed it on the spiritual side; he has not shown it to be feasible in the State; and as to further questions involved, such as the rights of illegitimate offspring, the degrees of legitimacy, etc., etc., he has left them out, and indeed, as we apprehend, they must be treated from a different ground, before the permissions above given can safely come into the laws. Until then, an unhappy conscience from *lèse société* must attend them, even though they be dictated by the spiritual man.

Our course as a faithful biographer has enjoined upon us this subject, never a pleasing one to the reader; but facts so broadly written in the title page of an important work, cannot be omitted from an account of it; and no estimate of Swedenborg as a moralist would be even tolerably complete, if his views on such a point were not included. Moreover the age demands the discussion of the question.

We cannot quit the *Conjugal Love* without noticing to the reader the author's penetration upon a subject where a studious old bachelor might be expected to have no experience. It is an instance of the sympathy of genius, which can place itself in the

position of its object, and look outward from the hearts of alien things. Thus it was that Swedenborg analysed the male and the female soul, and their faculties of conjunctivity; thus that he dived into the recesses of wedded life, and laid down a science and a series of its agreements and disagreements; that he examined its love, its friendship, and its favour, at the different periods of life; that he described to the life, but in formal propositions, the jealousies of the state, "its burning fire against those that infest wedded love, and its horrid fear for the loss of that love;" and finally thus that he depicted the love of children, the spiritual offspring of conjugal love, in its successive derivations; and childless himself, appreciated the circulation of innocence and peace that the hearts of the young establish in the home. Much, however, that he has said belongs to his peculiar seership: much of the psychology is of more than earthly fineness; the distinctions are those of spiritual light, and the delicacy of the affections is that of spiritual heat; which is not surprising, for the wives of heaven had been communicative to our author.

We here give a "memorable narration" from the work, which will illustrate the subject of which we have been speaking.

"Whilst I was in meditation on the secrets of conjugal love stored up with wives,* the GOLDEN RAIN spoken of above appeared; and I remembered that it fell over a hall in the East, where three conjugal loves, three married pairs who loved each other tenderly, were living. On seeing it, invited as it were by the sweetness of my meditation on that love, I hastened towards it, and as I approached, the rain changed from golden to purple, afterwards to scarlet,

* In this relation Swedenborg refers to others that had gone before, and which the reader may consult. We advise him to peruse the beautiful spiritual narratives which are interspersed through this work.

and when I came near it was opaline like dew. And I knocked, and the door was opened; and I said to the attendant, 'Tell the husbands that the person who was here before with an angel, has come again, in the hope of enjoying the privilege of conversation.' And the attendant returned with a message of approval from the husbands, and I went in. The three husbands with their wives were together in an open court, and warmly reciprocated my salutation. I then enquired of the wives whether the white dove in the window had appeared any more. They said, 'Yes, it appeared again to-day; and it also opened its wings, from which we augured* that you were coming, and would solicit the opening of one more secret of conjugal love.' But I interposed, 'Why do you say one when I am come here expressly to learn several secrets?' They replied, 'Secrets there are, and some of them so far exceed your wisdom that the intellect in your thought is not capable of taking them in. You glory over us on account of your wisdom, but we do not glory over you on account of ours; and yet ours stands high above yours; because it enters your inclinations and affections, and sees, perceives and feels them. You know absolutely nothing of the inclinations and affections of your own love; and yet it is by and agreeably to these that your understanding thinks; therefore it is by and agreeably to the same that you are wise. The wives, on the other hand, know these so well in their married partners, that they see their inclinations and affections in their faces, and hear them in the depths of the tones of the speech of their lips; yea, they touch and caress them

* Auguries from birds and their flight and singing are of the spiritual world, and there, being veracious, they are of ominal significance. The spiritual world in every part, and in all its visible changes, is the augury of the state of those who are there, and instructs and admonishes the heavens perpetually, as a work in correspondence with the Word.

on your breasts, arms and cheeks. We, however, from the zeal of our love for your happiness, and for our own as well, feign not to know them, and yet we rule them so prudently, that whithersoever the fancy, opinion and will of our husbands point, we follow by permitting and suffering; bending their inclinations as we follow them, but never forcing them.' I enquired, 'Where do you get this wisdom from?' They replied, 'It is implanted in us by creation, and then by birth. Our husbands liken it to instinct; but we say that it comes from the Divine Providence in order that the men may be rendered happy by their wives. We have heard from our husbands that the Lord intends that the male man shall act from freedom according to reason; and that, therefore, in regard to the inclinations and affections, the Lord Himself rules this freedom from within; and that thus He forms the man with his wife into an angel of heaven. And besides, the love changes its essence, and does not become conjugal if it is forced. But we will be more outspoken here. We are moved to the aforesaid prudence in regulating the inclinations and affections of our husbands, so that they may seem to themselves to act in entire freedom agreeably to their own reason, because we are delighted with their love; and we love nothing more than that they shall be delighted with our delights; which if not cared for by them, stale and lose their zest with us also.' This spoken, one of the wives entered her chamber, and came out saying, 'My dove still flutters its wings, which is a sign that we may tell you more.' And they said, 'We have noted various changes in the inclinations and affections of the men. For instance, they are cold to the wives when they, the husbands, give way to false and empty thoughts against the Lord and the Church. They are cold whenever they are puffed up with the pride of their own intelligence. They are cold when

they cast the eyes of desire upon alien women. They are cold when the wives take them to task in the matter of love; not to mention other occasions. Also the cold of these several causes is various in kind. We have experienced this in a retreat and drawing back of sense from their eyes, ears and body at the presence of our senses. From these few points you may see that we know better than the men whether it be well with them, or whether it be ill. If they are cold to the wives it is ill with them, but if they are warm to the wives it is well with them. And therefore the wives are continually revolving the means of making the men warm to them, and not cold; and these means they contrive with a shrewdness quite inscrutable to the men.' Having so spoken, a sound was heard as of the dove moaning. And then the wives said, 'This is a sign to us that although we are willing to make known to you deeper secrets, it is not permitted. Perhaps you publish to the men what you have heard?' I replied, 'I intend to do so. What harm can come of it?' The wives talked this announcement over among themselves; and then said, 'Publish if you please. We well know what a power of persuasion resides in wives. They will say to the husbands, "This man banters, he tells stories, he jests with seemings, and furbishes up the nonsense customary with men. Do not believe him, but believe us. We know that you are loves, and that we are obediences." Therefore publish, if you please. Say what you may, the husbands will take their cue from the lips they kiss, from the mouths of their wives, and not from your mouth.'

Before quitting the *Conjugal Love*, we place before the reader the "MEMORABLE NARRATION" in which he records his visit to the people of the GOLDEN AGE.

"Whilst I was in meditation on *Conjugal Love*, my mind was seized with a desire of knowing what

the nature of that love had been with those who lived in the Golden Age; and afterwards what it had been with those who lived in the succeeding ages which are named respectively from Silver, Copper, and Iron. And as I knew that all who led good lives in those ages are in the heavens, I prayed to the Lord to allow me to speak with them, and to be instructed. And lo! an Angel was straightway at my side, and he said, 'I have been sent by the Lord as your guide and companion; and first I will conduct and accompany you to those who lived in the first epoch or age, that which is called the Golden.' And he said, 'The way to them is difficult; it lies through a dark forest across which no one is able to pass unless with a guide given him by the Lord.' I was in the Spirit, and made myself ready for the journey, and we turned our faces to the East. And as we went I saw a mountain whose summit stood beyond the region of clouds. We crossed a great desert, and arrived in the forest of which the Angel had spoken; a forest set close with trees of various kinds, and dark in the thickness of them; but it was also intersected by many narrow by-paths. And the Angel told me that these are so many wanderings from the way; and that unless the eyes be opened by the Lord, and the path be marked by olives festooned with vines, and unless the traveller's course be from olive to olive, he will end in the pits of Tartarus which are round about at the sides. This forest is of such a nature in order that the approach through it may be guarded; for none other than a primeval nation dwells upon that mountain. After we entered the forest, our eyes were opened, and we saw here and there olives entwined by vines which were laden with bunches of purple grapes; and the olives were set in perpetual spires, so that as we came in view of them we went round and round. And at length we saw a grove of lofty cedars; and certain eagles on their boughs.

At this juncture the Angel said, 'We are now on the mountain not far from its summit.' And we went straight on. And after passing the Grove, we came to a round plain where lambs, male and female, were feeding; and these were forms representative of the state of innocence and peace of the inhabitants. We traversed this plain to its end, and then we saw tabernacles upon tabernacles, thousands and thousands, in front and at the sides as far as the sight extended. And the Angel said, 'Now we are in the Camp, and there are the Armies of the Lord Jehovih, as they call themselves and their habitations. These most ancient men dwelt in tabernacles when they were in the world, and for this reason dwell in them now. But let us bend our course to the South, where the wiser among them live, that we may meet some one with whom we may enter into friendly conversation.' As we went I saw a long way off three boys and three girls sitting at the door of one tent, but these boys and girls as we got near were seen as men and women of middle stature. And the Angel said, 'All the inhabitants of this mountain at a distance appear as infants, because they are in the state of innocence; and infancy is an appearance of innocence.' As soon as they saw us the men ran to meet us, and said, 'Where do you come from? and how have you got here? Your faces are not of the faces of this mountain.' But the Angel replied, and told the conditions of our passage through the forest, and the cause of our coming. This being done, one of the three men invited us into his tabernacle, and introduced us. The man was clothed in a hyacinthine mantle, and in a waistcoat of white wool; and his wife was attired in a purple robe, with a stomacher under it of fine linen wrought in needlework. And because the desire of comprehending the marriages of the most ancient men was uppermost in my thoughts, I looked stedfastly at the husband and

the wife by turns, and I noticed as it were the unity of their souls in their faces; and I said, 'You two are one.' And the man answered, 'We are one; her life is in me, and mine in her; we are two bodies, but one soul. There is a union between us like that between the two tents of the breast, the heart and the lungs. She is my heart, and I am her lungs. But as by the heart we mean love here, and by the lungs, wisdom, she is the love of my wisdom, and I am the wisdom of her love: wherefore her love from without veils over my wisdom, and my wisdom from within is instinct in her love. Hence, as you have said, there is an appearance of the unity of souls in our faces.' And then I enquired whether, where there is this union, you are able to look at any other woman than your own. And he answered, 'I am able; but because the wife is united to my soul, we two look together, and not anything of lust can enter then; for when I look at the wives of other men, I look at them through my wife, whom alone I love. And because this my wife is in full possession of all my inclinations, she, as an intermediate, directs my thoughts, and she clears my mind of all jarring elements, at the same time that she impresses cold and horror at all unchastity; so that it is as impossible for us here to see the wife of a companion with lewd eyes as to behold the light of our heaven from the shades of Tartarus. And therefore not an idea of thought exists with us, still less a word of speech, in favour of the seductions of libidinous love.' He could not utter the word, whoredom, because the chastity of their heaven resisted and forbade it. And the Angel, my guide, said to me, 'You now hear the speech of the angels of this heaven, and know that it is the speech of wisdom, because they speak from causes.' After this I looked around me, and I saw their Tabernacle as it were overlaid with gold; and I asked how this came about. He answered, 'It is

from the flaming light of golden gleam, which breaks forth and touches the curtains of our Tabernacle whenever Conjugial Love is our theme of conversation. For the heat from our Sun, which in its essence is Love, then bares itself, and tinges the light, which in its essence is wisdom, with its own colour, which is golden. And this happens because Conjugial Love in its origin is the play of Wisdom and Love; for the man was born to be the wisdom, and the woman to be the love of the wisdom of the man. From this ground arise the delights of the play in and from Conjugial Love between us and our wives. We here have seen clearly for thousands of years, that in plenty, degree and virtue these delights are excellent and eminent according to the worship of the Lord Jehovih in us; for the celestial union, the heavenly marriage between love and wisdom, flows in from Him.' When he finished speaking, I saw a great light upon a hill which rose in the midst among the Tabernacles; and I asked him of the source of that light. 'It is,' he said, 'from the sanctuary of the Tabernacle of our worship.' And I besought him whether it was permissible to approach; and he said that I might do so. I did approach, and I saw a Tabernacle answering exactly without and within to the description of the Tabernacle which was built for the children of Israel in the wilderness, the form of which was shown to Moses on Mount Sinai (Exodus xxv. 40; xxvi. 30). I then asked what there was in that Sanctuary from which so great light proceeded; and he answered, 'It is a Table with this inscription on it, THE COVENANT BETWEEN JEHOVAH AND THE HEAVENS.' He said no more. And as we were then making ready to depart, I asked, 'Were there any of you when in the natural world who lived with more than one wife?' he answered that he knew not one; 'for we are not able to think of more than one wife. Those who had so thought had told us,

that on the instant the heavenly beatitudes of their souls retreated from the inmost seats to the extremities of their bodies, even to their nails, carrying away with them the honourable badges of manhood. As soon as this was perceived they were ejected from our territory.' Having thus spoken, the man ran to his Tabernacle, and returned with a Pomegranate which had in it a multitude of seeds of gold; and he gave it to me; and I brought it down; and it was a sign to me that we have been with those who lived in the Golden Age. And then, after a salutation of peace, we departed, and returned home."

So far this "memorable narration," which to the reverent reader is indeed a pomegranate full of seeds of gold.

Swedenborg remained in Amsterdam during the winter of 1768-69, and early in the spring of the latter year published his *Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church*, "in which work," as he says, "are fully shown the errors of the existing doctrines of justification by faith alone, and of the imputation of the righteousness or merits of Jesus Christ," which doctrines, he expected, might probably be extirpated by this book. He circulated it freely throughout Holland and Germany; but, on second thoughts, sent only one copy to Sweden, to Dr. Beyer, requesting him to keep it to himself. For "true divinity in Sweden was in a wintry state; and in general, towards the North Pole there is a greater length of spiritual night than in the southern parts; and those who stand in that darkness may be supposed to kick and stumble more than others against everything in the New Church which is the produce of an unprejudiced reason and understanding; yet we are to admit some exceptions to this observation in the ecclesiastical order."

Swedenborg's anticipations with regard to his native country were not falsified by the event, for already on

the 22nd of March, 1769, Dr. Ekebon, dean of the theological faculty of Gottenburg, had delivered to the Consistory there a deposition of objections against Swedenborg's theological writings, laden with untruth, and full of personal reproaches. The dean branded his doctrine "as in the highest degree heretical, and on points the most tender to every Christian, Socinian;" yet stated further, that he did "not know Assessor Swedenborg's religious system, and should take no pains to come at the knowledge of it." As for Swedenborg's chief works, he "did not possess them, and had neither read nor seen them." "Is not this," says Swedenborg in reply, "to be blind in the forehead, and to have eyes behind, and even those covered with a film? To see and decide upon writings in such a manner, can any secular or ecclesiastical judge regard otherwise than as criminal?" For the rest our author's reply consisted in a citation of some of the leading doctrines in his works, those particularly on the divine trinity, the holiness of Scripture, the unity of charity and faith, and the direction of faith towards one person, namely, our Saviour Jesus Christ; and he denied that his doctrine was heretical according to judgments pronounced by the chief ecclesiastical bodies in Sweden. The tenor of Scripture, the Apostolic Creed, and whatever was not self-contradictory in the orthodoxy of the churches, he claimed to have upon his own side. He requested of Dr. Beyer that his reply might be communicated to the bishop and the Consistory, and intended afterwards to publish both sides, and possibly to found an action at law upon the proceedings, unless the dean should retract his scandal.

At the end of May or the beginning of June, Swedenborg left Amsterdam *en route* for Paris, "with a design," as he said, "which beforehand must not be made public." It appears from this that he anticipated some difficulty with regard to the object

of his mission. This was no other than the publication of another little work, viz., *The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body*, which he designed to give to the world in the French capital. He had spoken well in his theological works of "the noble French nation," had taken care to communicate his works to public bodies and select individuals in France, where also they had been in considerable request, and now he desired to issue something from the French press. It is probable that had his present plan succeeded, he intended also to publish in Paris that great summary of his doctrines which he was then about to write, and which was his last performance.

Arrived in Paris he submitted his tract to M. Chevreuil, Censor Royal and Doctor of the Sorbonne, who after having read it, informed him that a tacit permission to publish would be granted him, on condition, "as was customary in such cases," that the title should say, "printed at London," or "at Amsterdam." Swedenborg would not consent to this, and the work therefore was not printed at Paris. Hereupon a calumnious letter was circulated in Gottenburg, which alleged that he had been ordered to quit Paris, which he denied as "a direct falsehood," and appealed for the truth of the case to Count Creutz, the Swedish ambassador to France.

Rumour has been busy with him upon this journey. The French *Biographie Universelle* connects him with an artist named Elie, who it is alleged supplied him with money, and furthered his presumed designs. Indeed he has been accused of a league with the *illuminés*, and with a certain politico-theological freemasonry, centuries old but always invisible, which was to overturn society, and foster revolutions all over the world. We can only say that our researches have not elicited these particulars, and that every authentic document shows that Swedenborg stood always upon his own basis, accepted money from no

one, and was just what he appeared—a theological messenger, and nothing more. Still as there is generally a grain of truth in even the most preposterous lies, we shall be glad to look out in this direction for biographical materials. Whatever else they be, they shall at least be welcome.

In the autumn of this year (1769) Swedenborg had left Paris, and was in London, where he published his tractate on *The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body*. It was during this sojourn of two or three months that the most intimate of his English friends, Dr. Hartley, Rector of Winwick in Northamptonshire, drew from him a short account of himself, as a means of refuting any calumnies that might be promulgated after his departure. Dr. Hartley had thought that Swedenborg was hardly safe in his own country, and that possibly he was pressed for money. In the course of this mild and modest document, Swedenborg set him right on these topics. "I live," says he, "on terms of familiarity and friendship with all the bishops of my country, who are ten in number; as also with the sixteen senators, and the rest of the nobility; for they know that I am in fellowship with angels. The king and queen also, and the three princes their sons, shew me much favour: I was once invited by the king and queen to dine at their table—an honour which is in general granted only to the nobility of the highest rank; and likewise, since, with the hereditary prince. They all wish for my return home: so far am I from being in any danger of persecution in my own country, as you seem to apprehend, and so kindly wish to provide against; and should anything of the kind befall me elsewhere, it cannot hurt me. . . . I am a Fellow, by invitation, of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, but I never sought admission into any other literary society, as I belong to an angelic society, wherein things relating to heaven and the soul are the only subjects of discourse

and entertainment, whereas the things that occupy the attention of our literary societies are such as relate to the world and the body. . . . As to this world's wealth, I have what is sufficient, and more I neither seek nor wish for."

We presume that Swedenborg lodged with Shear-smith in Cold Bath Fields during this short sojourn in London.

On his departure from England, he had requested his friend, Dr. Messiter, to transmit certain of his works to the Divinity Professors of the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and the letters which passed upon this occasion furnish a testimony to his personal character from one who knew him well. Dr. Hartley, Dr. Messiter (M.D.), and Dr. Hampe, who had been preceptor to George II., were his chief English friends.

In September he quitted London, and returned to Stockholm, arriving in the latter capital at the beginning of October. On his arrival he was kindly received by all classes of people, and at once invited by their royal highnesses the hereditary prince and his sister, with both of whom he conversed. He also dined with several of the senators, and talked with the first members of the Diet, and with the bishops there present, who all behaved very kindly to him, excepting his nephew, Bishop Filenius. A storm, however, had been brewing during his absence, and he now had to meet it. Dr. Hartley's fears were justified by the facts, though not by the ultimate event. But before we turn to this new page of his life, we must give some account of the works that he had just published abroad.

The *Brief Exposition* is the forerunner of the *True Christian Religion*, to be noticed presently. It is a criticism on the doctrines of the Catholic and Protestant churches from the point of view of the New Church. The author premises a statement of

the doctrinal views of the three churches, for the sake of comparison between them. The Catholic doctrinals are excerpted from the records of the Council of Trent; the Protestant, from the *Formula Concordiæ* composed by persons attached to the Augsburg Confession. These churches indeed dissent upon various points, but are agreed as to the fundamentals, namely a trinity of persons, original sin, the imputation of Christ's merits, and justification by faith alone. Respecting the latter tenet, however, the Catholics conjoin the faith with charity or good works; while the leading Reformers, in order to effect a full severance from the Romish communion as to the very essentials of the church, which are faith and charity, separated between the two. Nevertheless the Reformers adjoin good works, and even conjoin them, to their faith, but in man as a passive subject, whereas the Roman Catholics conjoin them in man as an active subject. The whole system of theology in Christendom is founded upon an idea of three Gods, arising from the doctrine of a trinity of persons, and falls when that doctrine is rejected, after which saving faith is possible. The faith of the present day has separated religion from the church, since religion consists in the acknowledgment of one God, and in the worship of Him from faith grounded in charity. The doctrine of the present church is interwoven with paradoxes, to be embraced by faith; hence its tenets gain admission into the memory only, and into no part of the understanding above the memory, but merely into confirmatory pretexts below it. They cannot be learnt, or retained, without difficulty, nor be preached or taught without using great care to conceal their nakedness, because sound reason neither discerns nor perceives them. They ascribe to God human properties in the evil sense of the term. The heresies of these ages have sprung from the doctrine founded on the idea of three Gods.

This has desolated the church, and brought it to its consummation. The Catholic laity, however, have for the most part ceased to know anything of the essential doctrinals of their church, these being lost for them in the numerous formalities of that religion, and hence, if they recede in part from their outward forms, and approach God the Saviour immediately, taking the Sacrament in both kinds, they may be brought into the New Church more easily than the Reformed communities.

These are a few of the propositions of this little treatise, which for its destructive logic is unsurpassed among Swedenborg's works. If rational assault could have carried the outworks of the existing creeds, this work would have had the effect; and Swedenborg would have been justified in his hope, that the errors of the churches might be "extirpated" by a book. But an error whose first condition lies in the prostration of the understanding, is good, so far, against rational attacks. Dialectics make no impression on whoever believes that man is a spiritual fool, doomed by his constitution to believe in nonsense and absurdity; that is to say, in what *would be such* if he dared to judge it by his reason. This fortress, viz., the denial of the mind itself by both churches, is therefore yet unstormed by our author's artillery; and it is evident that more real and terrible means must gather to battle around it before it will capitulate. At the same time, the longer it holds out, the more is the laity separated from the clergy; the more the sciences and positive knowledge claim the earth to its very walls; the more the clerical garrison is starved in the sight of the abundance of natural and now of heavenly and spiritual truth; and in the end, the more likely it is that some convulsion, either mental or worldly, will sweep away the strong offence, and substitute a church not averse to the rational mind upon its cleared site.

So convinced was Swedenborg of the true magnitude of this treatise, whether discerned or undiscerned by "the Church," that he wrote with his own hand in one copy, "This Book is the coming of the Lord, written by command."

Swedenborg describes experimentally the future lot of those who maintain "the faith of the dragon," which is "signified by the pit of the abyss, because," as he says, "a description from ocular demonstration may be relied on." We insert his account.

"That pit, which is like the mouth of a furnace, appears in the southern quarter; and the abyss beneath it is of great extent towards the east; they have light even there, but if light from heaven be let in, there is immediate darkness; wherefore the pit is closed at the top. There appear in the abyss huts constructed of brick, which are divided into distinct cells, in each of which is a table, whereon lie papers, with some books. There sits at his own table every one who in this world had confirmed justification and salvation by faith alone, making charity a merely natural and moral act, and the works thereof only works of civil life whereby men may reap advantage in the world, but if done for the sake of salvation, they condemn them, and some even rigorously, because human reason and will are in them. All who are in this abyss have been scholars and learned men in the world; and among them are some metaphysicians and scholastic divines, who are there esteemed above the rest. But their lot is as follows: when first they come here they take their seats in the first cells, but as they confirm faith by excluding the works of charity, they leave the first seats, and enter into cells nearer the east, and thus successively till they come towards the end, where those are who confirm these tenets from the Word; and because they then cannot but falsify the Word, their huts vanish, and they find themselves in a desert. There

is also an abyss beneath that abyss, where those are who in like manner have confirmed justification and salvation by faith alone, but who in their spirits have denied the existence of a God, and in their hearts have made a jest of the holy things of the church; there they do nothing but quarrel, tear their garments, get upon the tables, stamp with their feet, and assail each other with reproaches; and because it is not permitted them to hurt any one, they use threatening words and shake their fists at each other.'

"That I might also be assured and convinced that they who have confirmed themselves in the present justifying faith are meant by the dragon, it was given me to see many thousands of them assembled together, and they then appeared at a distance like a dragon with a long tail, which was beset with spikes like thorns; these signified falsities."

The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body is a work in which the author brings his spiritual sight to bear upon the solution of that old problem. In this world, the soul is unseen, excepting through the body; and though consciousness affirms its existence, yet philosophy gives it no qualities that warrant us to say *what* it is. In short, philosophy crushes the question, and insists that there is no *what* in the case. The consequence is, that we too often regard the soul as a floating and indeterminate entity of no weight to counterbalance the world and the senses. This gives rise to the doctrine of *Physical Influx*, which means in brief the omnipotence of outward objects and of sense, in controlling and filling the inward faculties, and even according to many in creating them. The contrary view is that of *spiritual influx*, in which the soul, whatever it be, is seated upon the throne of the human powers, takes from the senses whatever it wills, and acts according to circumstances from its own wisdom. There is a third system, that of Leibnitz, named *preëstablished harmony*,

wherein neither soul nor body acts upon the other, but each concurs with the other, and does what the other does; much as two men might move their arms or legs to time under some ordering common to both. The theory of spiritual influx is that which Swedenborg adopts; and which he fills with his experience.

The problem of this link had dwelt with his understanding from his earlier days, and he had given a keen refutation of Leibnitz when writing his anatomical works; for he saw that that great genius was not solving the question by his hypothesis, but only rendering it insuperable, by propounding as a solution a statement still more knotty; since his preëstablished harmony required in point of fact a second soul to move two bodies instead of one. For the drill effecting the harmony of course proceeded from some word of command; in short, from a more inscrutable soul. Preëstablished harmony was therefore to Swedenborg but another name for methodical darkness, which terminated the thought that it professed to extend.

Now here we see the value of spiritual *sight* on a difficult point. While the soul was unknown, its manner of communication with the body was necessarily occult, but when it was actually seen as the man himself, with all his looks, members and garments about him, then the matter took a practical form, and he, the soul, was united to the body, because he wanted it to supply his sensations from, and do his work in, the world. The error lay in thinking of the soul as not a body, and not a man; the power of the truth in looking from humanity as the way of answering the question. The soul in this new view is the complete man; the body is his fit natural garment. The latter he puts on, by a divine necessity, to clothe the spiritual essence from the rudeness of this world, and to enable him to work amid its inclemencies, and to gather its fruits of

wisdom, for a convenient season. In this case there are all the common motives for the union of the soul-man with the body-man, that there are for our union with our clothes, with our houses, and with every circumstance that we draw around us to extend our lives and build up our state. This once seen, analogy points out a thousand links between the spiritual and the natural man, every one of which is practical, and of daily force.

We may illustrate this by man and his ostensible connexions with this world. Now man we see, and the manner in which he lays hold upon his objects, which is chiefly typified by his actual *handling* of certain things. But suppose for a moment that we were some other being, and that man was invisible to us, and that still the objects were moved from place to place with an apparent design. In this case we should have the type of what the motions and actions of the body are to an abstract philosopher. It would be a kind of ghostly and fearful galvanism, and the existence of something to be called man, though *what* could never be known, would be the last induction of philosophy, from the strange events which were taking place around. Place the seer there, however,—the person who can see the powerful and actual man who is creating them, and sight itself, without a strained faculty, will account for the whole connexion of events. We see them produced, and we see the agent. Such is the native and substantial function of eyes, whether those of the spirit or the body, exerted in their proper sphere. The man who can see the soul has done with its abstract philosophy.

The spiritual world is united to the natural by answerable links to the above. So long as the spiritual is kept by the philosophers, and consists of intuition and mathematical point, we may well wonder if it is united with nature; for what love can consist between the starry firmament on the one hand and blank being

on the other? there is freezing indifference on either side, and of course no union. The addition of an abstract idea to the world, is the world unaltered, though a little blurred; the sinking of the world in the idea, is on the other hand idealism or destruction of thought. There is every reason for "civil war between the soul and the body," and discord between the two worlds, under circumstances in which one party to the agreement is essentially unknown. But, thanks be to God, spiritual *sight* has again saved us here.

As the soul is the essential human body, so is the spiritual world the essential outward world. It is a living world, because it is a continuation of life; it consists in its extense of the inferior members of a vast humanity which is alive. This makes it living. But there is all in it that exists in nature, and in the same forms; only all moves instead of stands. The spiritual sun, which is pure love, is at one with the natural sun, which is pure fire, because fire is dead love, and does love's same work in the dead world. There must be passive as well as active, or action would be dissipated. There must be a world of passives as well as a world of actives, or spirit would be uncontained. That which is a law in one sphere, is itself a sphere in some purer plan.

This existence of chains of mutual creations, each corresponding with each, because each in its own place *is* each, is the condition by which the Word pervades the world which it first created. It is no impulse that carries the divine unity through the worlds, but the still small voice of God above and between all things. Each superior thing is a revelation and a man to the inferior; the lower hearkens to the higher, and assumes the image and likeness of its state. Reception and obedience are the passive gifts of God to all the kingdoms, and the informing Word directs their changes from age to age. Speech or command, as we said before (p. 45), is an archetype

of communication ; it is audible correspondence ; and worlds are but an assembly swayed hither and thither by its ancient songs and prophet voices.

The intercourse of soul with body, and of spirit with nature, lies then in the similarity of each with each : it depends upon a scale of divine wants, by which spirit must come down into nature, and soul into body, for the purpose of carrying life throughout the possible forms of the creation. It is the easiest of things as well as doctrines ; because for its existence in those unopposing depths where union lives, only harmony is wanted, and for its explanation, the demonstration of the harmony.

While speaking of influx, we may mention the doctrine of spheres, which are those effluences or radiations that created subjects put forth upon other things about them. Nothing in the worlds is naked, or shorn to its outline, but it has a peculiar space around it, an estate which it cultivates, and in which it oscillates and exists. This space is filled with its emanations, which are always in the image and likeness of the being that inhabits and sheds them. The planet has its sphere in the air, the clouds, the aromas of the vegetable world, the breaths and transpirations of the animal, and a thousand subtle influences from the mineral. If our senses were grosser than they are, we should miss out all these, and the earth would be sphereless. We do omit them all from the lesser cases, and hence man, the most ubiquitous of presences, is shut up, as we suppose, within the *cordon* of his skin. The truth, however, is otherwise ; for creation is throughout dynamical. An appropriate Word goes forth incessantly from all things to all things. Each creature has its sphere, because each reflects the Creator, whose immediate sphere is the spiritual sun, and His ultimate sphere the universe itself in its roundest wisdom. Especially is man ensphered, and uses his rays for influence and com-

munication, printing off editions of himself upon the volume of the world. This is palpable to every sense in the spiritual kingdoms. Swedenborg, as a scientific man, had already seen the law of spheres afar off in the doctrine of modifications (p. 45 above). But when he visited the inner world, the matter came under conditions, suited to experimental science. He now touched the reality of spheres. The scents, colours and forces environing humanity struck his opened senses, and he was amazed at their tidal power. As every spirit belongs to some province of the Grand Man, his presence excites correspondently that part of the human body to which he answers. When a liver spirit approached to Swedenborg, he felt the influx, sometimes before the spirit came in view, in his own hepatic region, and he knew the quality of the spirit from his operant sphere. When one of the eye men or of the heart men came near him, his own eyes or heart, sympathetically affected, told him at once whither the new comer belonged. When evil spirits sought him, the maladies or pains to which they answered were excited for the time in his system ; he knew therefore that spiritually these messengers were even such diseases. Hypocrites gave him a pain in the teeth, because hypocrisy is spiritual toothache. Moreover each spirit appeared in the plane of the part whereto he corresponded ; for the cosmogony of the spiritual world is human, and hence the human body is the pivot round which it plays. Nay, the body has its human form from the circumpressure of the human spiritual world, which, so to speak, deposits and maintains it, much as each cell of the material body is laid and preserved by the plan and pressure of the whole.

We have mentioned already that in this year (1769) Swedenborg had found on his return to Sweden that his peaceful life was to be interrupted by misrepresentation and persecution. It is surprising that

he had proceeded so long in promulgating doctrines condemnatory of the Lutheran creed, without drawing down upon himself the vengeance of the clergy. His works, however, were written in Latin, and but little known in Sweden, which made it, for a time, not worth while to notice them. But when eminent persons, like Drs. Beyer and Rosén, as well as others enjoying still higher dignity in the church, became avowed disciples and propagators of these doctrines, the matter became serious; and the clergy, ever sensitive of innovation, determined to crush the new doctrine in the bud. Dean Ekebon at Gottenburg was the originator of the movement. The clerical deputies from that town were instructed to complain of Swedenborg and Dr. Beyer in the Diet. The tactics of his adversaries were sufficiently cunning; he was to be put upon his trial, and examined; and as, when questioned, there was no doubt that he would assert openly his divine commission and spiritual privileges, it would then be easy to declare him insane, and consign him to a madhouse. One of the senators, (it is said Count Höpken,) disclosed to him by letter this plot, and advised him to quit the country. On receiving the information, he was greatly affected, and retiring to his garden, fell upon his knees, and prayed that the Lord would direct him what to do. A response was immediately received from an angel, that "*he might rest securely upon his arm in the night*, whereby is meant that night in which the world is sunk in matters pertaining to the church." Assured by this comforting message, Swedenborg, who was not allowed to be present at the debates on his case, and knew nothing of the details of what happened, enjoyed the calm in his chamber, and let the storm rage without as much as it pleased. Clamour, indeed, he knew that there was among a great part of the clerical body; but "clamour," as he wrote to Dr. Beyer, "does no harm, being like the

ferment in new wine, which precedes its purification; for unless what is wrong be winnowed, and rejected, the right cannot be discerned or received." For this reason (Dec. 29, 1769) he "did not stir one step to defend his cause, knowing that the Lord Himself, our Saviour, defends His church." It was finally concluded at the Diet and in the Council, not to touch his person; a resolution owing in great part to the rank and character of the accused, and to his relationship to many noble families, both in and out of the church.

But we must return to the beginning of this affair, to give the details. The party in Gottenburg, headed by Dean Ekebon, found a ready instrument at Stockholm in Bishop Filenius, then president of the House of Clergy, for carrying their complaint directly before the Diet. The first obnoxious measure taken was the stoppage of a number of copies of Swedenborg's work on *Conjugal Love* at Norrköping, whither he had sent them from England, in anticipation of his own arrival, intending, when he came to Sweden, to make presents of them, as was his wont. They were however detained for examination, according to a law prohibiting the introduction of books reputed contrary to the Lutheran faith. Swedenborg naturally turned to his nephew, Bishop Filenius, requiring an explanation of the affair, and requested the Bishop's friendly offices to have the box cleared. Filenius embraced and kissed him, and cordially promised his assistance; notwithstanding which he did everything in his power to ensure the confiscation of the books. When this became apparent, Swedenborg expostulated with him, and he now insisted on the work being revised before it was given up. It was urged by the author, that as his treatise was "not theological, but chiefly moral," its revision by clerical order was unnecessary, and would be absurd; and that the exercise of such a censorship would pave the way for a dark age in Sweden.

Filenius was inflexible, and his intentions manifest. Swedenborg, deeply aggrieved by the duplicity of the Bishop his relation, likened him to Judas Iscariot, and said pointedly, in allusion to the foregoing circumstances, that "he who spoke lies, lied also in his life." In the meantime he took good care to distribute the work to those he intended to receive it, bishops, senators, and members of the royal family, from a number of copies that he had himself brought home.

He was now determined to clear the matter up, and made enquiries among others of the bishops as to how the case stood with his writings. They all told him that they supposed the books had merely been taken care of until his return; that they knew nothing of any other detention; that if such there were, Filenius had acted on his own authority. He had indeed made a representation on the subject in the Diet, but the clerical house had not received his motion, had not even registered it among their proceedings, and above all, had sanctioned no confiscation.

The proceedings in the Diet, as he afterwards learnt, had been somewhat as follows. Bishop Filenius, who attacked Swedenborg "in the first instance from a secret dislike, but afterwards out of inveteracy," had gained over some members of the clerical order to his own views. He procured the appointment of a committee of the House of Clergy on the Swedenborgian cause. Its deliberations were kept secret. But though it consisted of bishops and professors, this committee, after hearing evidence, ignored the charges of Filenius, and terminated with a report in Swedenborg's favour; in the course of which they took occasion to speak of him "very handsomely and reasonably." Filenius, however, gained one point: viz., that a memorial should be presented to the King in Council, requesting the

attention of the Chancellor of Justice to the troubles at Gottenburg. This was intended to procure a censure upon Drs. Beyer and Rosén, and indirectly upon Swedenborg also. In consequence, a letter was addressed by the Chancellor to the Consistory, to desire its opinion upon the affair; which occasioned the subject to be again agitated for two days in the Council, where the king presided.

When matters came to this pass, Swedenborg at once, May 10, 1770, addressed his majesty in a bold and characteristic memorial. He complained that he had met with usage the like of which had been offered to none since the establishment of Christianity in Sweden, and much less since there had existed liberty of conscience. He recapitulated his grievances. He said that he had been attacked, calumniated and menaced, without the opportunity of defending himself; though truth itself had answered for him. He reminded his majesty of an interview that had passed between them. "I have already informed your majesty," says he, "and beseech you to recall it to mind, that the Lord our Saviour manifested Himself to me in a sensible personal appearance; that He has commanded me to write what has been already done, and what I have still to do; that He was afterwards graciously pleased to endow me with the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits, and of being in fellowship with them. I have already declared this more than once to your majesty in the presence of all the royal family, when they were graciously pleased to invite me to their table with five senators, and several other persons; this was the only subject discoursed of during the repast. Of this I also spoke afterwards to several other senators; and more openly to their excellencies Count Tessin, Count Bonde, and Count Höpken, who are still alive, and were satisfied with the truth of it. I have declared the same in England, Holland, Germany, Denmark, and

at Paris, to kings, princes, and other particular persons, as well as to those in this kingdom. If the common report is to be believed, the chancellor has declared that the things I have been reciting are untruths, although they are the very truth. To say that they cannot believe and give credit to such things,—therein will I excuse them, for it is not in my power to place others in the same state in which God has placed me, so as to be able to convince them, by their own eyes and ears, of the truth of those facts and things I publicly have made known. I have no ability to capacitate them to converse with angels and spirits, neither to work miracles to dispose or force their understandings to comprehend what I say. When my writings, in which many things are to be met with heretofore unknown, are read with attention and cool reflection, it is easy enough to conclude that I could not come to such knowledge but by real vision, and by conversing with those who are in the spiritual world. . . . This knowledge is given to me from our Saviour, not for any private merit of mine, but for the great concern of all Christians' salvation and happiness; and this being so, how can any one venture to assert that it is false? That these things may appear such as many have had no conception of, and of consequence, that they cannot easily credit, has nothing remarkable in it, for scarcely anything is known respecting them."

He concluded by throwing himself upon the king's protection, and by requesting the monarch to command for himself the opinion of the reverend clergy on his case; also the production of the various documents that had passed at Gottenburg and elsewhere; in order that he, Swedenborg, and those maligned with him, might be heard in their defence, this being their right and privilege. The only advice, he protested, that he had given to Drs. Beyer and Rosén, was to address themselves to our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, as a means to heavenly good and blessedness, for He

only has all power in heaven and on earth, (Matt. xxviii. 18.)

The latter point was in truth the core of the controversy that was raging about him, and was one which his writings are calculated to provoke wherever they are disseminated. Is prayer to be addressed to the Father, or to the Redeemer? to the invisible Being, or to God with us? to the revealed Divine Face and Body, or to the unrevealed Divine Soul? Have worship and prayer a definite object or not? Swedenborg ably cited on his own side the text of Scripture, the Augsburg Confession, the Formula Concordiæ, and the Liturgies of his own Communion; and showed that wherever the church had departed from vagueness and mystery, its practices were accordant with his views. To the Son of God, born in time, every son of time must address himself, in order to find salvation. Were this doctrine taken away, he averred that he would rather live in Tartary than in Christendom. Did the persecution against him succeed, it might amount to a prohibition from the clergy against their flocks addressing prayer to the personal Saviour: a dangerous issue which probably his opponents foresaw, and were not prepared to accept. It does not appear that throughout the dispute his visions were brought upon the carpet, otherwise than as furnishing the general charge of unsoundness of mind, which, as we have seen, certain members of the House of Clergy meditated, but did not venture to bring forward.

King Adolphus Frederick had in the meantime already commanded the members of the Consistory of Gottenburg to send in an unequivocal representation of the light in which the Assessor's principles were regarded by the Consistory. On the 2nd of January, 1770, Dr. Beyer, as one of the members, volunteered a declaration on the subject, in which he gave a manly testimony in favour of Swedenborg and

his doctrines, citing his own experience about them, and his views of their moral and spiritual tendency. "Convinced by experience," says he, "I must in the first place observe, that no man is competent to give a just and suitable judgment of those writings, who has not read them, or who has read them only superficially, or with a determination in his heart to reject them, after having perused, without examination, some detached parts only: neither is he competent who rejects them as soon as he finds anything that militates against those doctrines which he has long cherished and acknowledged as true, and of which perhaps he is but too blindly enamoured: nor is he competent, who is an ardent yet indiscriminating biblical scholar, that, in explaining the meaning of the Scriptures, confines his ideas to the literal expression or signification only: and, lastly, neither is he competent, who has altogether devoted himself to sensual indulgences, and the love of the world." He concluded his memorial as follows: "In obedience, therefore, to your majesty's most gracious command, that I should deliver a full and positive 'declaration' respecting the writings of Swedenborg, I do acknowledge it to be my duty to declare, in all humble confidence, that as far as I have proceeded in the study of them, and agreeably to the gift granted to me for investigation and judgment, I have found in them nothing but what closely coincides with the words of the Lord Himself, and that they shine with a light truly divine."

The Consistory, as a body, came to no report upon Swedenborg's writings; and a short time before he left Sweden on his last voyage, being in the king's company, the latter said to him: "The Consistory has been silent on my letters and your works," and putting his hand on Swedenborg's shoulder, he added: "We may conclude that they have found nothing reprehensible in them,

and that you have written in conformity to the truth."

Throughout this struggle, his adversaries attempted in vain to ruffle his calmness by personal invective. He answered them with honest vigour, but always from the facts of the case. As to "the indecent barkings of the Dean," he told Dr. Beyer, in a private letter, "they must not throw stones to drive them away." And he wrote to Mr. Wenngren, a magistrate of Gottenburg, that as for certain "merciless slanderers" in the clerical party, their expressions "had fallen on the ground like fire-balls from the clouds, and had there gone out." In the meantime Swedenborg persevered in his own course, with an efficacious industry which neither this turmoil, nor his advanced years, abated for a moment.

Here our narrative of the affair ceases. Swedenborg, before his last departure from Sweden, addressed a letter to the Universities of Upsala, Lund and Åbo, asserting that each of the estates of the kingdom ought to have its consistory, and ought not to acknowledge the exclusive authority of that at Gottenburg. He declared in another place that religious matters belong to others also besides the priestly order. It appears that, notwithstanding the termination of the controversy in his favour, his adversaries had succeeded in enforcing a strict prohibition against the importation of his writings into Sweden, as he found out the next year (1771). In consequence of this it was his intention to send in a formal complaint to the States-General against the Councillor of State, the presumed instrument of the prohibition; but whether he fulfilled this purpose, we do not know.*

At this period of his life Swedenborg made a last offering to his old associates of the Royal Academy

* The reader of Swedish will find additional particulars respecting this case in a History of the New Church in Sweden, by Dr. A. Kahl, published at Lund, 1847-1864. (*Nya Kyrkan.*)

of Sciences of Stockholm. This was couched in a letter, in which, after explaining some of the correspondences of the Scripture, he ended as follows: "Inasmuch as the science of correspondences was the science of sciences and the wisdom of the ancients, it is important that some member of your Academy should direct his attention to that science. He may begin, if he pleases, with the correspondences discovered in the *Apocalypse Revealed*, and proved from the Word. If it be desired, I am willing to unfold and publish the Egyptian hieroglyphics, which are nothing else than correspondences; a task that no other person can accomplish." How fixedly Swedenborg must have dwelt in the inward, to imagine that the Royal Academy would undertake such an enquiry, or that a purely spiritual explanation of the hieroglyphics would satisfy the men of that age! So far as hieroglyphical interpretation has gone, the sense elicited is anything but spiritual; and the less spiritual, the more acceptable to the scientific man. Nevertheless the existing interpretations do not exclude a deeper significance lying at the roots of the symbols; an interpretation of them not as parts of language, but as cyphers of nature. But the time has not yet arrived for such an enquiry. One cannot help recalling what Swedenborg said to Hartley, that he sought admission into no literary society, because he belonged to an angelic society, wherein things relating to heaven and the soul were the only subjects of entertainment. The Royal Academy of Stockholm was not an angelic society. Whether this communication was presented to the Academy, and if so, how it was received, we are not aware: Swedenborg also sent it to Dr. Hartley, with a request that his circle of friends would investigate the subject. It has since been published as an appendix to the *White Horse*.

From the beginning of October, 1769, until August, 1770, he resided at his house in the environs of

Stockholm. On the 23rd of July in the latter year, on the eve of departing for Amsterdam, he took his leave by letter of Dr. Beyer, "hoping that our Saviour would support him in good health, keep him from further violence, and bless his thoughts." On the day that he quitted Stockholm, he called upon Herr Robsahm in the Bank of Sweden, of which that gentleman was a director, and lodged in his hands a protest against any judicial examination of his writings during his absence. Robsahm asked him, as before the other journey, whether they would ever meet again? He answered in a gentle and affectionate manner, "Whether I shall return, I do not know, but of this you may be certain, for the Lord has informed me of it, that I shall not die until the book that I have just finished is printed. Should we not see each other again in this world, we shall meet in the presence of the Lord if we have kept His commandments." "He then," says Robsahm, "took leave of me in as lively and cheerful a way as if he had been a man of middle age." And so he passed from his fatherland.

On the voyage to Amsterdam, the ship that carried him was detained for several days by contrary winds off Elsinore, and General Tuxen, hearing that Swedenborg was in the offing, determined to improve their acquaintance, and taking a boat, went off to see him. He was introduced by the captain, who opened the cabin door, and shutting it after him, left him alone with Swedenborg. The Assessor was seated in an undress, his elbows on the table, and his hands supporting his face, which was turned towards the door; his eyes open, and much elevated. The General at once addressed him. At this he recovered himself, (for he had been in a trance or ecstasy, as his posture showed,) rose with some confusion, advanced a few steps from the table in visible uncertainty, and bid him welcome, asking from

whence he came. Tuxen replied that he had come with an invitation from his wife and himself, to request him to favour them with his company at their house; to which he immediately consented, and dressed himself alertly. The General's wife, who was indisposed, received him in the house, and requested his excuse if in any respect she should fall short of her wishes to entertain him; adding that for 30 years she had been afflicted with a painful disease. He politely kissed her hand, and answered, "Oh dear! of this we will not speak; only acquiesce in the will of God, it will pass away, and you will return to the same health and beauty as when you were fifteen years old." The lady made some reply, to which he rejoined, "Yes, in a few weeks." From which they concluded him to mean, that diseases which have their foundation in the mind, and are supported by the infirmities of the body, do not disappear immediately after death.

We have hitherto had little opportunity of being introduced to Swedenborg in private life; we have seen him at the mines, at his office, at his desk, and in the Diet; let us now spend a portion of an evening with him at General Tuxen's. Even if it illustrates no doctrine, yet it is always coveted to enjoy the familiar presence of extraordinary persons, and to find that their habiliments and corporeal mould are like our own. The brotherliness of mankind is gratified by these near occasions, even as more sublime but not dearer emotions attend the achievements of genius on its public days.

"Being then together," says General Tuxen, "in company with my wife, my now deceased daughter, and three or four young ladies, my relations, he entertained them very politely and with much attention on indifferent subjects, on favourite dogs and cats that were in the room, which caressed him and jumped on his knee, shewing their little tricks.

During these trifling discourses, mixed with singular questions, to all of which he obligingly answered, whether they concerned this or the other world, I took occasion to say, that I was sorry I had no better company to amuse him than a sickly wife and her young girls: he replied, 'And is not this very good company? I was always very partial to ladies' society.' . . . After some little pause he cast his eyes on a harpsichord, and asked whether we were lovers of music, and who was the player. I told him we were all lovers of it, and that my wife in her youth had practised it; for she had a fine voice, perhaps better than any in Denmark, as several persons of judgment who had heard the best singers in France, England and Italy, had assured her; and that my daughter also played with pretty good taste. On this Swedenborg desired her to play. She then performed a difficult and celebrated sonata, to which he beat the measure with his foot as he sat on the sofa; and when finished, he said, 'Brava! very fine.' She then played another by Ruttini; and when she had played a few minutes, he said, 'This is by an Italian, but the first was not.' This finished, he said, 'Brava! you play very well. Do you not also sing?' She answered, 'I sing, but have not a very good voice though fond of singing, and would sing if my mother would accompany me.' He requested my wife to join, to which she assented, and they sang a few Italian duettos, and some French airs, each in their respective taste, to which he beat time; and afterwards paid many compliments to my wife on account of her taste and fine voice which she had preserved notwithstanding so long an illness. I took the liberty of saying to him, that since in his writings he always declared, that at all times there were good and evil spirits of the other world present with every man; might I then make bold to ask, whether now, while my wife and daughter were singing, there had been

any from the other world present with us? To this he answered, 'Yes, certainly;' and on my enquiring who they were, and whether I had known them, he said that it was the Danish royal family, and he mentioned Christian VI., Sophia Magdalena, and Frederick V., who through his eyes and ears had seen and heard it. I do not positively recollect whether he also mentioned the late beloved Queen Louisa among them. After this he retired."

During this visit to General Tuxen, in the course of other conversation Tuxen produced the autobiographical letter that Swedenborg had written to Hartley (above, p. 177), and which begins, "I was born . . . in the year 1689." Swedenborg told him that he was not born in that year, as mentioned, but in the preceding. Tuxen asked him whether this was an error of the press, but he said, No; and added, You may remember in reading my writings to have seen it stated in many parts, that every cypher or number has in the spiritual sense a certain correspondence or signification. "Now," said he, "when I put the true year in that letter, an angel present told me to write the year 1769, as much more suitable to myself than the other; 'and you observe,' answered the angel, 'that with us time and space are nothing.'"

We have here a reason for that modification of events according to a context, of which the Gospel histories, so often apparently discrepant from each other, furnish numerous instances. Manifestly it is the plan of the context which regards the events from its own point of view, and paints the narrative in its own colours. It is what all historians do in a lesser way, bending the history to ideas, or shaping it with an artistic force. Taking a certain larger block of time as a period of birth, it is hieroglyphically truthful to play down upon any date contained in the block, according to the subject and the signification. There are many kinds of truth besides black and white; and

generally, figurative truths require latitude of phrase. At the same time it must be confessed, that one would like to know when the writing is pure history, and when it is a base of history made use of for symbolical purposes, and touched in part by spirit. Literal people are apt to be offended otherwise, and we sympathize with them.

Swedenborg arrived at Amsterdam probably about the beginning of September, carrying with him the manuscript of his last work, the *True Christian Religion*. Jung Stilling supplies us with an anecdote of him at this period. An intimate friend of Stilling's, a merchant of Elberfeld, had occasion to take a journey to Amsterdam, and having heard much of "this strange individual" (Swedenborg), desired to become acquainted with him. He called upon him, and found a venerable friendly old man, who desired him to be seated. The Elberfeld merchant, Stilling says, was "a strict mystic in the purest sense. He spoke little, but what he said was like golden fruit on a salver of silver. He would not have dared for all the world to tell an untruth." He explained to Swedenborg that he was acquainted with his writings, and had heard the relation of the fire of Stockholm, and the affair of the Queen of Sweden's brother, but that he wished for a proof of a similar kind for himself. Swedenborg was willing to gratify him. The merchant then said, "I had formerly a friend who studied divinity at Duisburg, where he fell into a consumption, of which he died. I visited this friend a short time before his decease; we conversed together on an important topic: could you learn from him what was the subject of our discourse?" "We will see. What was the name of your friend?" The merchant told him his name. "How long do you remain here?" "About eight or ten days." "Call upon me again in a few days. I will see if I can find your friend." The merchant took his leave

and despatched his business. Some days after he went again to Swedenborg in anxious expectation. The old gentleman met him with a smile, and said, 'I have spoken with your friend; the subject of your discourse was, *the restitution of all things*.' He then related to the merchant, with the greatest precision, what he, and what his deceased friend, had maintained. My friend turned pale; for this proof was powerful and invincible. He enquired further, 'How fares it with my friend? Is he in a state of blessedness?' Swedenborg answered, 'No, he is not yet in heaven; he is still in Hades, and torments himself continually with the idea of the restitution of all things.' This answer caused my friend the greatest astonishment. He ejaculated, 'My God! what, in the other world?' Swedenborg replied, 'Certainly; a man takes with him his favourite inclinations and opinions; and it is very difficult to be divested of them. We ought, therefore, to lay them aside here.' My friend took his leave of this remarkable man, perfectly convinced, and returned back to Elberfeld."

In June, 1771 Swedenborg published at Amsterdam the *True Christian Religion; containing the Universal Theology of the New Church*.* He had been employed upon this large work for at least two years, and when he arrived at Amsterdam, he commenced the printing of it, always exhibiting an assiduity which surprised those with whom he came into contact. It will be remembered that he was now in his 84th year. We have a few particulars of his life during this residence in Holland, from David Paulus ab Indagine, "a respectable and learned individual," who cultivated his acquaintance, first by letter, and afterwards personally. Ab Indagine, "in his open

* *The True Christian Religion; containing the Universal Theology of the New Church foretold by the Lord in Daniel vii. 13, 14, and in the Apocalypse xxi. 1, 2.* By Emanuel Swedenborg, Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.

manner, could not conceal his astonishment that Swedenborg had put himself upon the title page as 'Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.' But Swedenborg replied, "I have asked, and have not only received permission, but have been ordered to do so." (It appears that it was owing to Dr. Hartley's remonstrance with him that he was in the first instance induced to depart from his course of publishing anonymously, and to prefix his name to any of his works.) Ab Indagine continues, in a letter to a correspondent (Jan. 26, 1771): "It is wonderful with what confidence the old gentleman speaks of the spiritual world, of the angels, and of God Himself. . . . I know not what to make of him; he is a problem that I cannot solve. I sincerely wish that the upright men whom God has placed as watchmen upon Zion's walls, had some time since occupied themselves with this man." In another letter (March 5, 1771) he furnishes more anecdotes. "I cannot forbear," says he, "to tell you something new about Swedenborg. Last Thursday I paid him a visit, and found him, as usual, writing. He told me, 'that he had been in conversation that same morning, for three hours, with the deceased king of Sweden. He had seen him already on the Wednesday; but, as he observed that he was deeply engaged in conversation with the queen, who is still living, he would not disturb him.' I allowed him to continue, but at length asked him, how it was possible for a person who is still in the land of the living, to be met with in the world of spirits? He replied, 'that it was not the queen herself, but her *spiritus familiaris*, or her familiar spirit.' I asked him what that might be? for I had neither heard from him anything respecting appearances of that kind, nor had I read anything about them. He then informed me, 'that every man has either his good or bad spirit, who is not constantly with him, but sometimes a little removed

from him, and appears in the world of spirits. But of this the man still living knows nothing; the spirit, however, knows everything. This *familiar spirit* has everything in accordance with his companion upon earth; he has, in the world of spirits, the same figure, the same countenance, and the same tone of voice, and wears also similar garments; in a word, this *familiar spirit* of the queen,' says Swedenborg, 'appeared exactly as he had so often seen the queen herself at Stockholm, and had heard her speak.' In order to allay my astonishment, he added, 'that Dr. Ernesti, of Leipsic, had appeared to him in a similar manner in the world of spirits, and that he had held a long disputation with him.' . . . I have often wondered at myself, how I could refrain from laughing when I was hearing such extraordinary things from him. And what is more, I have often heard him relate the same things in a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen, when I well knew that there were mockers among them; but, to my great astonishment, not a single person even thought of laughing. Whilst he is speaking, it is as though every person who hears him were charmed, and compelled to believe him. He is by no means reserved and recluse, but open hearted, and accessible to all. Whoever invites him as a guest may expect to see him. A certain young gentleman invited him last week to be his guest, and although he was not acquainted with him, he appeared at his table, where he met Jewish and Portuguese gentlemen, with whom he freely conversed, without distinction. Whoever is curious to see him has no difficulty; it is only necessary to go to his house, and he allows anybody to approach him. It may easily be conceived, however, that the numerous visits to which he is liable deprive him of much time."

At this time the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt wrote a letter to Swedenborg, desiring information on important points. Swedenborg at first did not answer

it, being doubtful of its genuineness; but his misgivings were set aside by a visit from Venator, the minister of that prince. In his reply to the Landgrave, he says: "The Lord our Saviour had foretold that He would come again into the world, and that He would establish there a New Church. He has given this prediction in the Apocalypse xx. and xxii., and also in several places in the Evangelists. But as He cannot come again into the world in person, it was necessary that He should do so by means of a man, who should not only receive the doctrine of this New Church in his understanding, but also publish it by printing; and as the Lord had prepared me for this office from my infancy, He has manifested Himself in person before me, His servant, and sent me to fill it."

The Landgrave again wrote to Swedenborg, enquiring about the "miracle" of his intercourse with the Queen of Sweden's brother, and Swedenborg answered (July 15, 1771), that the story was true, but "not a miracle." He also wrote to Venator, that such matters ought by no means to be considered miracles: they are "only testimonies," says he, "that I have been introduced by the Lord into the spiritual world, and that I have been in association with angels and spirits, in order that the church, which until now had remained in ignorance concerning that world, may know that heaven and hell exist in reality, and that man lives after death, a man, as before; and that thus there may be no more doubt as to his immortality. Deign, I pray you, to satisfy his highness, that these are not miracles, but only testimonies that I converse with angels and spirits. You may see in the *True Christian Religion* that there are no more miracles at this time; and the reason why. It is, that they who do not believe because they see no miracles, might easily, by them, be led into fanaticism."

Respecting this subject of miracles Swedenborg

observes in one of his works: "Instead of miracles there has taken place at the present day an open manifestation of the Lord Himself, an intromission into the spiritual world, and with it, illumination by immediate light from the Lord in whatever relates to the interior things of the church, but principally an opening of the spiritual sense of the Word, in which the Lord is present in His own divine light. These revelations are not miracles, because every man as to his spirit is in the spiritual world, without separation from his body in the natural world. As to myself, indeed, my presence in the spiritual world is attended with a certain separation, but only as to the intellectual part of my mind, not as to the will part. This manifestation of the Lord, and intromission into the spiritual world, is more excellent than all miracles; but it has not been granted to any one since the creation of the world as it has been to me. The men of the golden age indeed conversed with angels; but it was not granted to them to be in any other light than what is natural. To me, however, it has been granted to be in both spiritual and natural light at the same time; and hereby I have been privileged to see the wonderful things of heaven, to be in company with angels just as I am with men, and at the same time to pursue truths in the light of truth, and thus to perceive and be gifted with them, consequently to be led by the Lord."

The *True Christian Religion*, (making 815 close pages in the eighth English edition,) contains the author's "body of divinity." The whole of his theological works, hermeneutical, visional, philosophical, dogmatic, and moral, are summed up and represented in this deliberate system. There is none of his treatises so plain, or so well brought home to apprehension; none in which the yield of doctrine is so turned into daily bread, the food of practical religion. Viewed as a digest, it shows a presence of

mind, an administration of materials, and a faculty of handling, of an extraordinary kind. There is old age in it in the sense of ripeness. If the intellectualist misses there somewhat of the range of discourse, it is compensated by a certain triteness of wisdom. As a polemic, not only against the errors of the churches, but against the evil lives and self-excusing of Christians, the work is unrivalled. The criticisms of doctrine with which it abounds, are masterly in the extreme; and were it compared with any similar body of theology, we feel no doubt that the palm of coherency, vigour and comprehensiveness would easily fall to Swedenborg, upon the verdict of *judges* of whatever church. Besides its theological body and substance, the work buds and even blazes with suggestions; and in the world's literature there is nothing similar or second to it as the product of that scarcely credible state, a brilliant old age. The sun here goes down in a glory that demonstrates his unbroken passage to a diviner sphere.

It will not be necessary to enter at large upon the contents of the *True Christian Religion*; for we have dwelt upon them already in reviewing the author's previous writings. The following summary, however, of the chapters will show the scope of the work. I. God the Creator. II. The Lord the Redeemer. III. The Holy Spirit and the divine operation. IV. The Holy Scripture or the Word of the Lord. V. The Ten Commandments in their external and internal senses. VI. Faith. VII. Charity, or love towards our neighbour and good works. VIII. Free-determination. IX. Repentance. X. Reformation and Regeneration. XI. Imputation. XII. Baptism. XIII. The Holy Supper. XIV. The Consummation of the Age, the Coming of the Lord, and the New Heaven and the New Church. Besides these subjects, the work contains no less than 76 *Memorable Relations* from the spiritual world, interspersed

between and among the chapters: for Swedenborg always addresses the reader as already a member of two worlds.

Some time before his last publication Dr. Ernesti attacked him in his *Bibliotheca Theologica* (p. 784), and before Swedenborg left Holland, he issued a single leaf in reply to his opponent. It is a short deprecation of controversy characteristic of the peaceful and busy old man. "I have read," says he, "what Dr. Ernesti has written about me. It consists of mere personalities. I do not observe in it a grain of reason against anything in my writings. As it is against the laws of honesty to assail any one with such poisoned weapons, I think it beneath me to bandy words with that illustrious man. I will not repel calumnies by calumnies. To do this, I should be even with the dogs, which bark and bite, or with the lowest drabs, who throw street mud in each other's faces in their brawls. Read if you will . . . what I have written in my books, and afterwards conclude, but from reason, respecting my revelation." Severe words these, if not controversial.

Our enumeration of Swedenborg's theological publications is now ended. Unapparent as his person is throughout them, we feel that it is almost profane to dwell upon his genius. In reading them we rather think of a gifted pen than of a great man. Originality and competitive questions are far in the background. The words *mine* and *thine* have not laid their hands upon these estates. Still the genius reverts the mightier for its unselfishness. The method of thought is the same in his theology as in his philosophy; his theology is his latest philosophy explaining his walks and experiences in the spiritual world. The active mental power is greater in his latter than in his former life; and would be more manifestly so, had he not always practically disclaimed his own gifts in favour of the Giver; a course that

offends "the pride of self-derived intelligence," which misses the brilliancy of its earthly fire in his low speech and self-absent periods. But assuredly his knowledge of man is more exceeding than his knowledge of nature; his plainness is more picturesque than his imagination; and his spiritual cosmogony and humanity will survive the ingenuity of his *Principia*, and already surpass the natural beauty of his imperishable Physiology.

In Part I. of this biography we have devoted a few words to the author's philosophical style; we shall now say somewhat on his theological. In the former case we noted with surprise that the dress of his books became more and more imaginative as his mind matured. The ornament, it is true, was a part of the subject, as a flower is a part of a plant. In his theological works, he discarded this vesture, and began not from the flower, but from the seeds of his philosophy. The difference between *The Worship and Love of God* and the *Arcana Cælestia*, is immense in point of style; the rhetoric of the former is shorn into level speech in the latter. But it is a second time to be observed, that his mind took the course from plainness to luxuriance, and that in his later theology, copious illustration gave fruitiness to his style. Ornamental it cannot be called, but full and abounding. Instead of the beauties of colour, he proffers gratifications for many senses, in solid paragraphs of analogies. If his old age is specially discernible in his *True Christian Religion*, it is in the wealth of the comparisons, which succeed each other with childlike volubility, though it must be confessed also with felicity. The child learns by comparison; the adult, more alive to intellectual beauty, decks his mind in coloured garments, and sets forth his theory as a captivation; the elder teaches, as the child learns, by comparisons again. There is nothing like them for power; they cleave to the mind in its youngest

and still joyous parts; and are to abstractions what gold coin is to doubtful promises in air or upon paper. By them the good old men prattle to the young, who are the seed of the state, and the inheritors of the future. It was Swedenborg's last and most loving mode of speech, to familiarize difficult things by telling us what their case is most like in the world about us: a method which he followed particularly in the *True Christian Religion*.

"There are five kinds of reception," says Swedenborg, (*Diary*, n. 2955,) speaking of the reception of his own writings by the world. "*First*, there are those who reject them utterly, either because they are in a different persuasion, or are enemies of the faith: they cannot be received by these, whose minds are impenetrable. The *second* genus receives them as scientifics, and in this point of view, and as curiosities, they are delighted with them. The *third* genus receives them intellectually, and with readiness, but their lives remain unaltered by them. The *fourth* receives them persuasively, allowing them to penetrate to amendment of life: to this class they occur in certain states, and do good service. The *fifth* genus consists of those who receive them with joy, and are built up in them."

In August, 1771, Swedenborg came from Amsterdam to London, and took up his abode for the second time with one Shearsmith, peruke maker, at 26, Great Bath Street, Coldbath Fields. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he still continued indefatigable with his pen, and, after finishing his *True Christian Religion*, he proceeded to the execution of another work, a supplement to the former, treating in detail of the various churches which have existed upon the earth. This treatise he either did not complete, or the end of it is missing. He now renewed his intercourse with his friends in London, who have handed down some interesting accounts of the closing scenes of his life.

Towards the end of the year, Dr. Hartley and Mr. Cookworthy visited him at his lodgings in Clerkenwell. The details of the interview are not given, only that it was impossible to avoid noticing his innocence and simplicity, and how, on inviting him to dine with them, he politely excused himself, adding that his dinner was already prepared, which proved to be a meal of bread and milk.

On Christmas eve a stroke of apoplexy deprived him of speech, and he lay afterwards in a lethargic state for more than three weeks, taking no sustenance beyond a little tea without milk, and cold water occasionally, and once a little currant jelly. At the end of that time he recovered his speech and health somewhat, and ate and drank as usual. It does not appear that he had any medical advice in his sickness. Dr. Hartley now again visited him, in company with Dr. Messiter, and asked him if he was comforted with the society of angels as before, and he answered that he was. Furthermore, they besought him to declare whether all that he had written was strictly true, or whether any part, or parts, were to be excepted. "I have written," answered Swedenborg, with a degree of warmth, "nothing but the truth, as you will have more and more confirmed to you all the days of your life, provided you keep close to the Lord, and faithfully serve Him alone, by shunning evils of all kinds as sins against Him, and diligently searching His Word, which from beginning to end bears incontestible witness to the truth of the doctrines I have delivered to the world." Dr. Hartley after this returned home, about a day's journey from London, (to East Malling, in Kent,) and heard soon after that Swedenborg was near his departure, and expressed a desire to see him; "but some hindrances to the visit," says he, "happening at the time, I did not embrace the opportunity as I should have done; for those hindrances might have been surmounted. My neglect on this occasion

appears to me without excuse, and lies very heavy on my mind to this day."

From the time of his seizure till his death he was visited by but few friends, and always appeared unwilling to see company. Nevertheless we meet with him once again in a semi-public character. Towards the end of February, 1772, the Rev. John Wesley is in conclave with some of his preachers, who are taking instructions, and assisting him in preparations for a circuit he is shortly to make, when a Latin note is put into his hand, which causes him evident astonishment. The substance is as follows:—

"Great Bath Street, Coldbath Fields,
February, 1772.

"Sir,—I have been informed in the world of spirits that you have a strong desire to converse with me. I shall be happy to see you, if you will favour me with a visit.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,
"EMANUEL SWEDENBORG."

Wesley frankly acknowledged to the company that he had been strongly impressed with a desire to see and converse with Swedenborg, and said that he had not mentioned the desire to any one. He wrote for answer that he was then occupied in preparing for a six months' journey, but would wait upon Swedenborg on his return to London. Swedenborg wrote in reply, that the proposed visit would be too late, as he, Swedenborg, should go into the world of spirits on the 29th day of the next month, never more to return. The result was, that these two celebrated persons did not meet.*

* It is certain that Wesley was at this time attracted to Swedenborg. Besides other proofs, we have one in a letter written to Wesley by the Rev. Francis Okely, a Moravian minister. This gentleman visited Swedenborg, probably between August and December, 1771, and wrote to Wesley upon the interview. His

Two or three weeks before his decease he was visited by his old friend, Mr. Springer, the Swedish Consul in London. Mr. S. asked him *when* he believed that the New Jerusalem would be manifested, and if the manifestation would take place in the four quarters of the world. His answer was, that "no mortal could tell the time, no nor even the highest angels, but God only. Read," said he, "the Revelations (xxi. 2) and Zechariah (xiv. 9), and you will find past

letter, (*Arminian Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 553: 1785,) dated Upton, Dec. 10, 1772, is somewhat interesting.

"Swedenborg is to me a riddle,—certainly, as you [Wesley] say, he speaks many great and important truths; and as certainly seems to me to contradict Scripture in other places. But, as he told me, I could not understand his *True Christian Religion* without divine illumination; and I am obliged to confess, that I have not yet a sufficiency of it for that purpose. I am thankful my present course does not seem absolutely to require it. We conversed in the High Dutch, and notwithstanding the impediment in his speech, I understood him well. He spoke with all the coolness and deliberation you might expect from any, the most sober and rational man. Yet what he said was out of my sphere of intelligence, when he related his sight of, and daily conversation in, the world of spirits, with which he declared himself better acquainted than with this world.

"I heartily wish that all the *real* designs which an omnipotent and omniscient God of Love might have, either by him, or by any other of his sincere servants, of whatsoever sort or kind, may be truly obtained. . . . I thought proper to express thus much *in answer to yours*, [the italics are our own,] without desiring you to adopt any of my sentiments."

Okely's difficulty about Swedenborg's sight and conversation in the spiritual world recalls a little narrative in Swedenborg's *Diary* (n. 5997). He had been writing upon the Apocalypse, and had treated of the threefold man, celestial, spiritual, and natural, and of goods and truths in their series, and coming to an inn with his mind on the subject, he opened it to the good wife who was the landlady, Tisula Bodama her name. "She was a person of simple-hearted faith. She understood clearly all I said; but there was a learned man present who did not understand it, nay, could not understand it. And so the case is with many other things." The Lord has hidden them from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes.

While speaking of Okely, who was the author of a *Life of*

doubt that the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, which denotes a new and purer state of the Christian church, will manifest itself to all the earth." About this time Mr. Springer relates, what Swedenborg himself told him, that his spiritual sight was withdrawn, after he had been favoured with it for so long a course of years. This, of which the world knows nothing, and for which it cares nothing, it was the greatest tribulation to him to lose. He could not endure the blindness, but cried out repeatedly, "Oh! my God, hast thou then forsaken thy servant at last?" He continued for several days in this deplorable condition; it was the last of his trials: but at length he recovered that precious sight, which made him completely happy.

Mr. Bergström, the landlord of the King's Arms tavern in Wellclose Square, at whose house he had once lodged for ten weeks, called to see him during his last days. Swedenborg told him, that since it had pleased God to take away the use of his arm by a palsy, his body was good for nothing but to be put into the ground. Mr. B. asked him whether he

Behmen, we take the opportunity of stating, that too close a parallel is often made between Böhme and Swedenborg. There are indeed truths common to both, and no man who values an extraordinary brother would say a word in disparagement of deep-thoughted Jacob Böhme. But his want of education and utterance; his identification of the spiritual with the subjective for man upon earth; his failure of seership, and consequently of real experience; and above all, his inapprehension of the sole divinity of Christ, which scattered through his theology the darkness inevitable upon an attempted approach to the thus unapproachable Father—a darkness the more virulent as the genius is more intense;—these great vacancies, and a host of other things, such as his doctrine of the bi-sexual Adam, establish between him and Swedenborg a gulf not to be overpassed. Swedenborg had indeed never read his works, as he told Dr. Beyer in answer to a question upon the subject, and it is impossible to affiliate his own works in any sense upon Böhme's. The admirers of Böhme are aware of this, and Mr. Law has shown it by violent stamping against Swedenborg.

would take the Sacrament? Somebody present at the time proposed sending for the Rev. Mr. Mathesius, the officiating minister of the Swedish church. Swedenborg declined taking the Sacrament from this gentleman, who had previously set abroad a report that he was out of his senses: and he sent for the Rev. Arvid Ferelius, another Swedish clergyman with whom he was on the best terms, and who had visited him frequently in his illness. Ferelius soon returned with Bergström to Swedenborg's bedside. On every previous visit Ferelius had asked him whether or no he was about to die, to which he always answered in the affirmative. On this occasion the priest observed to him, "that as many persons thought that he had endeavoured only to make himself a name by his new theological system, which object he had indeed attained, he would do well now to publish the truth to the world, and to recant either the whole or a part of what he had advanced, since he had now nothing more to expect from the world, which he was so soon about to leave for ever." Upon hearing these words, Swedenborg raised himself half upright in bed, and placing his sound hand upon his breast, said with great zeal and emphasis: "As true as you see me before you, so true is everything that I have written. I could have said more had I been permitted. When you come into eternity, you will see all things as I have stated and described them, and we shall have much to discourse about them with each other." Ferelius then asked whether he would take the Lord's Holy Supper? He replied with thankfulness that the offer was well meant; but that being a member of the other world, he did not need it. He would, however, gladly take it, in order to show the connexion and union between the church in heaven and the church on earth. He then asked the priest if he had read his views on the Sacrament? He also told him to consecrate the elements, and leave the rest of

the form to him, as he well knew what it was and meant. Before administering the Sacrament, Ferelius enquired of him whether he confessed himself to be a sinner? "Certainly," said he, "so long as I carry about with me this sinful body." With deep and affecting devotion, with folded hands and with head uncovered, he confessed his own unworthiness, and received the Holy Supper. After which, he said that all had been properly done, and presented the minister in gratitude with one of the few remaining copies of his great work, the *Arcana Cælestia*. He was quite clear in his mind throughout the ceremony. This was two or three weeks before his death.

He had told the people of the house what day he should die, and as Shearsmith's servant-maid reported: "He was as pleased! And she made a comparison that the pleasure was such as if she herself were going to have a holiday, to go to some merrymaking." In Sandels' more accomplished but not deeper language: "He was satisfied with his sojourn upon earth, and delighted with the prospect of his heavenly metamorphosis."

His faculties were clear to the last. On Sunday, the 29th day of March, 1772, hearing the clock strike, he asked his landlady and her maid, who were both sitting at his bedside, what it was o'clock, and upon being answered it was five o'clock, he said, "*It is well; I thank you; God bless you;*" and then, in a little moment after, he gently gave up the ghost.

After his decease, his body was carried to the house of Mr. Burkhardt, an undertaker, and former clerk to the Swedish church in London, where he was laid in state, and buried from thence on the 5th day of April, in three coffins, in the vault of the above church, in Prince's Square, Radcliffe Highway, with all the ceremonies of the Lutheran religion; the service being performed on the occasion by the Rev. Arvid Ferelius—the last service which he performed

in England. In 1785, Swedenborg's coffin was side by side with Dr. Solander's. To this day not a stone or an inscription commemorates the dust of the wonderful Norseman.*

During the later career of Swedenborg, his country had looked on not without interest, directed both to his character, his pretensions, and his labours. No sooner was he dead, than the House of Clergy, through their President, requested Ferelius to give such an account of him in writing as his experience would warrant, which he did, but the document is unfortunately missing. On October 7, 1772, Samuel Sandels, Councillor of Mines, pronounced his eulogium in the Hall of the House of Nobles, in the name of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm. Sandels was no follower of his, but his discourse, take it for all in all, is the finest resumption that we have of the name and character of Swedenborg. We give the opening of the document to show what a scientific man in such an Assembly dared say of Swedenborg, notwithstanding his Seership.

"Permit me," says he, "to entertain you this day upon a subject which is not of an abstracted or remote nature, but is intended to revive the agreeable remembrance of a man celebrated for his virtues and his knowledge, one of the oldest members of this Academy, and one whom we all knew and loved.

"The sentiments of esteem and friendship with which we all regarded the late Emanuel Swedenborg, assure me of the pleasure with which you will listen to me while he is the subject of my discourse: happy should I be could I answer your expectations, and draw his eulogium in the manner it deserves! But if there are some countenances of which, as the painters assure us, it is extremely difficult to give an exact likeness, how difficult then must it be to delineate that of a vast and sublime genius, who never

* But see note at the end.

knew either repose or fatigue; who, occupied with sciences the most profound, was long engaged with researches into the secrets of nature, and who, in his latter years, applied all his efforts to unveil the greatest mysteries; who, to arrive at certain branches of knowledge, opened for himself a way of his own, without ever straying from sound morals and true piety; who, being endowed with a strength of faculties truly extraordinary, in the decline of his age, boldly elevated his thoughts still further, and soared to the greatest heights to which the intellectual faculty can rise; and who, finally, has given occasion to form respecting him a multitude of opinions, differing as much from each other as do the minds of the different men by whom they are formed!"

When a life is past, we speak with right of the health and happiness of the departed. On these points a few words express what is known of Swedenborg. "He always," says Sandels, "enjoyed most excellent health, having scarcely ever experienced the slightest indisposition." "He was never ill," says Robsahm, "except when in states of temptation." Once he had a grievous toothache for many days. Robsahm recommended him some common remedy. But he refused it, and said: "My pain proceeds not from the nerve of the tooth, but from the influx of hypocritical spirits that beset me, and by correspondence cause this plague, which will soon leave me." Like other studious sedentary persons, his stomach was weak, particularly during the last fourteen years of his life, which caused him to be somewhat singular in his diet. Not less, however, from the concurrent testimony of those who knew him best, than from the works that he executed, we know that he enjoyed a fine constitution. Health is the ground which great persons cultivate, whereby they exchange the light flying hours into golden usage. To them it is industry represented in its power; the human riches of time.

The minute glass runs willingly sand of centuries when great ideas are in the healthful moments. So it was with Swedenborg. The powers of his mind were matched with an extraordinary strength of body, which pain and passion seem scarcely to have touched, and hence the crowd of his works, and his broad apparent leisure. The day of such a man is full of commerce and transactions; the reciprocation is unwearied from health to genius; the able-bodied hours cultivate his life to uncommon productiveness, and stretch out the points and patches of his time towards the largeness of their eternal source.

Health in its whole sense is happiness. Here again Sandels says of Swedenborg: "Content within himself and with his situation, his life was in all respects one of the happiest that ever fell to the lot of man, until the very moment of its close." "His inward serenity and complacency of mind," says Hartley, "were manifest in the sweetness of his looks and his outward demeanour." His own testimony corroborates that of Sandels. In a passage in his *Diary* (n. 3623), where he treats of the proposition, that "the enjoyments and pleasures of life are never denied to us," he says: "To this I can bear witness, that they have never been denied to me, but granted, and not only the pleasures of the body and the senses as to others of the living, but I have had joys and happiness such as no others I suppose have felt in the universal world, and these, both more and more exquisite than any mortal can imagine or believe."

Swedenborg's works furnish one continued proof of these assertions. Who does not know that peace and power are one; that tranquillity is the main circumstance of the best life-times? No matter to this whether the sky be calm, or the soul unassaulted; it is the preservation of the balance, and the firm-footedness of the man, under whatever trials, that constitute the repose of which we speak. Sweden-

borg's works, we repeat, from beginning to end, are on a high level of peace ; their even flow is as of a sea inclining only to all the constellations. No cursory moon regulates its tides from nearer attractions, but they move to the vault, and if they change, it is not by months, but with ages. Adaptation to the Spiritual wants of universal Mankind is thus the length and breadth and height of the Revelation achieved in this one life of a commissioned Servant. Noiselessly and slowly he was *prepared* from the beginning ; by good inheritance in the stern North ; by genius ; by capacity for labour ; by order of mind ; by humility ; by love to man : also by an organization flexible to the new divine purpose, and by bodily and mental stamina corresponding : we may add by a freedom and fearlessness God-given, which were needful for the Spiritual world, for heaven and for hell. All indeed is summed up in his own position, that he was prepared in the fullness of time, at the end of the First Christian Church, for his special Work by the Lord.

PART III.

PERSONAL TESTIMONIES AND ANECDOTES.

HAVING followed Swedenborg through his life and labours, it remains to gather up any personal particulars that remain unappropriated, and also to place before the reader what testimonies exist, to the public and private character of Swedenborg. We begin with the latter first. If the record savour of eulogy, it is from no partiality of ours, but because history chooses.

Sandels says : " If his love of knowledge went too far, it at least evinced in him an ardent desire to obtain information himself, and convey it to others ; for you never find in him any mark of pride or conceit, of rashness, or of intention to deceive. If he is not to be numbered among the doctors of the church, he at least holds an honourable rank among sublime moralists, and deserves to be instanced as a pattern of virtue and of respect for his Creator. He never allowed himself to have recourse to dissimulation. . . . A sincere friend of mankind, in his examination of the character of others, he was particularly desirous to discover in them this virtue, which he regarded as an infallible proof of the presence of many more. He was cheerful and agreeable in society. By way of relaxation from his important labours, he sought and frequented the company of persons of information, by whom he was always well received. He knew how to check opportunely, and

with great address, that species of wit which would indulge itself at the expense of serious things. As a public functionary, he was upright and just: while he discharged his duties with great exactness, he neglected nothing but his own advancement. . . . In the Diet his conduct was such as to secure him both from the reproaches of his own conscience and from those of other men. He lived under the reigns of many of our sovereigns, and enjoyed the particular favour and kindness of them all. . . . It may truly be said that he was solitary, but never sad."

Count Höpken remarks: "I have not only known him these two and forty years, but also some time since daily frequented his company. . . . I do not recollect to have known any man of more uniformly virtuous character; always contented, never fretful or morose; he was a true philosopher, and lived like one. He laboured diligently, and lived frugally without sordidness. . . . He possessed a sound judgment upon all occasions, saw everything clearly, and expressed himself well on every subject. . . . He detested metaphysics.* . . . He was certainly a pattern of sincerity, virtue and piety, and at the same time,

* Count Höpken is borne out in this by Swedenborg's writings. We might cite hundreds of passages to demonstrate his repugnance to verbal metaphysics, but in truth the tenor of his works is one bold counter-trial to all such philosophy. He is the head of the positive or scientific school, but, unlike others of that school, takes in spiritual and divine facts as well as natural. For facts are the only possible things, and God and the spiritual man are the chiefest among them. To justify Höpken we quote one instance, which may serve as a specimen of his mode of speech on this subject. It occurs in his *Adversaria on Isaiah*. "The more any one," says he, "is imbued with philosophy, the greater his blindness and darkness; the blindness keeps pace with the philosophy; as can be proved by many things." The Latin is so short, that we give it also:

"Quo magis aliquis philosophia imbuitur, eo magis cœcitas et umbra, augetur secundum copiam, quod multis demonstrari potest."

in my opinion, the most learned man in this kingdom."*

Robsahm says: "How he was looked upon in foreign lands I do not know, but in Stockholm even those who could not read his writings were always pleased to meet him in company, and paid respectful attention to whatever he said."

"He affects no honour," says Hartley, "but declines it; pursues no worldly interest; . . . and is so far from the ambition of heading a sect, that wherever he resides on his travels, he is a mere solitary." And after Swedenborg's death, Hartley again writes: "The great Swedenborg was a man of uncommon humility. He was of a catholic spirit, and loved all good men of every church, making at the same time candid allowance for the innocence of involuntary error. However self-denying in his own person as to gratifications and indulgences, even within the bounds of moderation, yet nothing severe, nothing of the precisian appeared in him."

And lastly Ferelius remarks: "Many may suppose that Assessor Swedenborg was a singular and eccentric person; this was not the case. On the contrary, he was very agreeable and complaisant in company; he entered into conversation on every topic, and accommodated himself to the ideas of the party;

Count Höpken says in a letter to a friend: "I have sometimes told the king, that if ever a new colony were to be formed, no religion could be better, as the prevailing and established one, than that developed by Swedenborg from the Sacred Scriptures, and this on the two following accounts: 1st. This religion, in preference to, and in a higher degree than, any other, must produce the most honest and industrious subjects; for this religion places properly the worship of God in *uxi*. 2dly. It causes the least fear of death, as this religion regards death merely as a transition from one state into another, from a worse to a better situation; nay, upon his principles, I look upon death as being of hardly any greater moment than drinking a glass of water."

and he never mentioned his own writings and doctrines but when he was asked some question about them, when he always spoke as freely as he had written. If, however, he observed that any persons asked impertinent questions, or attempted to ridicule him, he gave them answers that quickly silenced them, without making them any the wiser."

The persons in whose houses he lodged, bear concurrent testimony. Mr. Brockmer (who lived in Fetter Lane) says, that "if he believed Swedenborg's conversation with angels and spirits to be true, he should not wonder at anything he said or did; but should rather wonder that surprise and astonishment did not betray him into more unguarded expressions than were ever known to escape him: for he did and said nothing but what he (Brockmer) could easily account for in his own mind, if he really believed what Swedenborg declares in his writings to be true. . . . He was of a most placid and serene disposition." Brockmer indeed avers that "Swedenborg once called himself the Messiah,"* which we do not believe, as it is like no other passage in his life or writings.

Bergström says: "He once lived ten weeks with me in my house, during which time I observed nothing in him but what was very reasonable, and bespoke the gentleman. For my part I think he was a reasonable, sensible and good man: he was very kind to all, and generous to me. As for his peculiar sentiments, I do not meddle with them."

Mr. Shearsmith declared, "That from the first day of his coming to reside at his house, to the last day of his life, he always conducted himself in the most rational, prudent, pious and Christian-like manner."

* On this subject we refer the reader to Tafel's *Documents*. Swedenborg easily might have said that he had a commission from "God-Messiah," a term common in his *Adversaria*; and Brockmer, who was angry with him, might easily misunderstand him.

And Shearsmith's maid-servant commemorated that "he was a good-natured man, a blessing to the house; and while he stayed there, they had harmony and good business. She said that before he came to their house he was offered another lodging in the neighbourhood; but he told the mistress there wanted harmony in the house, which she acknowledged; and recommended him to Shearsmith's."

Mrs. Hart, his printer's wife, said that "he was of such a nature that he could impose on no one; that he always spoke the truth on every little matter, and would not have made an evasion though his life had been at stake."

The homeliness of some of these testimonies does not exclude them from our pages, because, diving as they do into Swedenborg's privacy, they are just what we want, to fortify our knowledge of one whose interior life was so different from other men's. Swedenborg's biography is a court in which such witnesses are precisely those whose depositions will first be taken by the mass of the public. If the testimony is trivial in so great a case, it is the cross questioning of this age which elicits it.

His friends and domestics had occasional opportunities of observing his deportment when in his trances. Some of these we have already narrated, but the following also merit a place.

On one occasion Ferelius visited him during his sickness, and as the former was going up stairs, he heard Swedenborg speaking with energy, as though addressing a company. Reaching the antechamber where his female attendant was sitting, he asked her who was with the Assessor? She said, "Nobody, and that he had been speaking in that manner for three days and nights." As the reverend gentleman entered the chamber, Swedenborg greeted him tranquilly, and asked him to take a seat. He told him that he had been tempted and plagued for ten

days by evil spirits, and that he had never before been tempted by such wicked ones : but that he now again enjoyed the company of good spirits.

One day, while he was in health, Ferelius visited him in company with a Danish clergyman. They found him sitting in the middle of the room at a round table, writing. The Hebrew Bible, which appeared to constitute his whole library, lay before him. After he had greeted them, he pointed to the opposite side of the table, and said : " Just now the apostle Peter was here, and stood there ; and it is not long since all the apostles were with me : indeed they often visit me." " In this manner," says Ferelius, " he spoke without reserve ; but he never sought to make proselytes." They asked him why nobody but himself enjoyed such spiritual privileges ? He said, that " every man might at the present day have them, as well as in the times of the Old Testament ; but that the true hindrance now is, the sensual state into which mankind has fallen." Robsahm also once questioned him, whether it would be possible for others to enjoy the same spiritual light as himself. He answered, " Take good heed upon that point : a man lays himself open to grievous errors who tries by barely natural powers to explore spiritual things." A caution greatly needed now, since Spiritism, mis-called Spiritualism, has invaded the human mind, and aggravated its natural pretensions. He further said, that to guard against this the Lord had taught us to pray, *Lead us not into temptation* ; meaning that we are not allowed, in the pride of our natural understandings, to doubt of the divine truths of revelation. " You know," said he, " how often students, especially theologians, who have gone far in useless knowledge, have become insane."

The reason of the danger of man, as at present constituted, speaking with spirits, is, that we are all in association with our likes, and being full of evil,

these similar spirits, could we face them, would but confirm us in our own state and views, and lend an authority from whose persuasiveness we could hardly escape, to our actual evils and falsities. Hence, for freedom's sake, the strict partition between the worlds. The case was otherwise before hell, was necessary to man's life.

Shearsmith used to be frightened when he first had Swedenborg for a lodger, by reason of his talking at all hours, the night as well as the day. He would sometimes be writing, says this informant, and then stand talking in the door-stead of his room, as if holding a conversation with several persons ; but as he spoke in a language that Shearsmith did not understand, he could make nothing of it.

His faithful domestics, the old gardener and his wife, who kept his house near Stockholm, told Robsahm with much tenderness, that they had frequently overheard his strong agony of mind vented in ejaculatory prayer during his temptations. He often prayed to God that the temptations might leave him, crying out with tears, " Lord God, help me ; my God, forsake me not." When the temptation was over, and they enquired of him the cause of his distress, he answered, " God be praised, it is all removed. Be not uneasy on my account ; all that happens to me, happens with God's permission, and He will suffer nothing that He sees I am unable to bear." After one of his trials he went to bed, and remained there many days and nights without rising. His servants expected that he had died of fright. They debated whether they should not summon his relatives, and force open the door. At length the gardener climbed up to a window, and looking in, to his great joy saw his master turn in bed. The following day he rang the bell. The wife went to his room, and told him how anxious they had been about him ; to which he replied, with a benignant

look, that he was well, and had wanted for nothing. One day after dinner the same domestic went into his room, and saw his eyes shining with an appearance as of clear fire. She started back, and exclaimed: "For God's sake what is the matter? You look fearfully!" "How then do I look?" said he. She told him what she saw. "Well, well," said he, "fear not! The Lord has opened my *bodily* eyes, so that spirits see through them into the world. I shall soon be out of this state, which will not hurt me." In about half an hour the shining appearance left his eyes. His old servant professed to know when he had conversed with heavenly spirits, from the pleasure and calm satisfaction in his countenance, whereas when he had been infested by wicked spirits, he had a sorrowful face.

What is here related of his eyes has reason to support it. Animation plays upon the eye, and shows that there are fire channels laid down in the tissues of that organ, or how could the brilliance permeate it? There is a fund of optics in common life that science has not observed, for the eye, prior to the hand, is the power that commands the world. The eye is of Protean possibilities: the soul shoots through it, and the look is either snaky, or angelic. Each passion has its proper rays. This, of the individual eye. But if one soul can make an eye lustrous, two or more looking through the same eye will project a larger flame. We notice a peculiar appearance in Swedenborg's portrait, what our friend Dr. Elliotson deems that of an "amiable lunatic:" certainly the common objects appear to claim but little of its attention, but if there is a vacancy, it is only a space for spirits, and when it was filled by them, Swedenborg would no doubt shine from the borrowed souls to those who saw him.

We have already spoken (p. 153) of one of his voyages to Sweden: we will complete this set of

anecdotes, with the stories told of Swedenborg by two other English ship captains. He sailed from Sweden on a certain occasion with one Captain Harrison. During almost the whole voyage he kept his berth, but was often heard speaking, as if in conversation. The steward and cabin-boy came to the captain, and told him that Swedenborg seemed out of his head. "Out of his head or not," said the captain, "so long as he is quiet I have no power over him. He is always reasonable with me, and I have the best of weather when he is on board." Harrison told Robsahm laughingly, that Swedenborg might sail with him *gratis* whenever he pleased; for never since he was a mariner had he such voyages as with him.

The same luck went with Captain Brovell, who carried him from London to Dalarö in eight days, during the most of which, as in the former instances, he lay in his berth and talked. Captain Hodson also, another of his carriers, was but seven days on the voyage, and found Swedenborg's company so agreeable that he was much delighted and taken with him: as he confessed to Bergström.

In this context we introduce what Springer says of Swedenborg's clear-seeing as regarded himself. "All that he has related to me respecting my deceased acquaintances, both friends and enemies, and the secrets that were between us, almost surpasses belief. He explained to me in what manner the peace was concluded between Sweden and the king of Prussia; and he praised my conduct on that occasion: he even told me who were the three great personages of whom I made use in that affair; which, nevertheless, was an entire secret between them and me. I asked him how he could be informed of such particulars, and who had discovered them to him. He rejoined, 'Who informed me of your affair with Count Ekeblad? You cannot deny the truth of what I have told you. Continue,' he added, 'to deserve his reproaches: turn

not aside, either for riches or honours, from the path of rectitude, but on the contrary, keep steadily in it, as you have done; and you will prosper." In the affair alluded to, Count Ekeblad, in a political altercation, had provoked Springer to draw his sword upon him; but they had afterwards composed the quarrel, and promised never to mention it while both parties were alive. On another occasion the Count had attempted to bribe Springer with a purse of 10,000 rix dollars, which sum and circumstance Swedenborg particularly mentioned to the latter, saying that he had them from the Count, just then deceased.

In his *Diary* Swedenborg has spoken at great length of the fates in the other life of many celebrated persons with whom he had been acquainted in the world; nor has his pen been withheld from similar particulars about his own relations. On this account, the work could not have been printed in his own day, without giving offence to the survivors of those whom he has thus described. Sometimes his unreserve led him to announcements which must have been grating to his auditors. An instance of this kind occurred on another voyage from Gottenburg to London. The vessel in which he was a passenger stopped at Öresund, and Mr. Kryger, the Swedish consul, invited the officers of the custom-house, together with several of the first people of the town, all anxious to see and know Swedenborg, to dine with him at his house. Being all seated at table, and none of them taking the liberty of addressing Swedenborg, who was likewise silent, the Swedish consul thought it incumbent on him to break silence, for which purpose he took occasion from the death of the Danish king, Frederic V., which happened the preceding year, (1766,) to enquire of Swedenborg, as he could see and speak with the dead, whether he had also seen Frederic V. after his decease. To this Swedenborg

replied in the affirmative, adding, that when he saw him the first time, he was accompanied by a bishop, or other prelate, who humbly begged the king's pardon for the many errors into which he had led him by his counsels. A son of the said deceased prelate happened to be present at the table: the consul Mr. Kryger therefore seeing that Swedenborg might say something further to the disadvantage of the father, interrupted him, saying, Sir, this is his son! Swedenborg replied, It may be, but what I am saying is true.

As to those in the other life with whom he could converse, the privilege had its limitations. When the Queen of Sweden asked whether his spiritual intercourse was a science or art that could be communicated to others, he said No, it is a gift of the Lord. "Can you then," said she, "speak with every one deceased, or only with certain persons?" He answered, I cannot converse with all, but with such as I have known in this world, with all royal and princely persons, with all renowned heroes, or great and learned men, whom I have known, either personally, or from their actions or writings; consequently, with all of whom I could form an idea; for it may be supposed that a person whom I never knew, and of whom I could form no idea, I neither could nor would wish to speak with." In further proof of this, we cite an anecdote related by Ferelius. "With other news," says he, "which on one occasion I received from Sweden through the post, was the announcement of the death of Swedenborg's sister, the widow Lundstedt. I communicated this information to a Swedish gentleman whose name was Meyer, who was travelling in England at that time, and who happened to be at my house when the news came. This person went immediately to Swedenborg, and conveyed the intelligence of the death of his sister. When he returned he said, that he thought Swedenborg's declaration respecting his intercourse with the

dead could not be true, since he knew nothing of the death of his sister. The next time I saw the old man I mentioned this to him, when he said, 'that of such cases he had no knowledge, except so far as he desired to know about them.'

We here introduce an anecdote which has not before appeared in English, to illustrate the genius of Klopstock. "Swedenborg," says the poet of *The Messiah*, "was once at Copenhagen. Our ladies would not let me alone till I visited him. I did not care to see him. He was no object of curiosity to me. History is full of cases of those led astray by pride, like Swedenborg. I fell into disgrace with him at once, because I had no taste for buying his dear quartos. I came directly to the point, and begged him to talk with one of my deceased friends. He said with a tone still more drawling than usual: 'If his Royal Majesty the reigning King of Denmark, Frederic the Vth.'—I am not adding a syllable—'had most graciously ordered me to speak with his deceased wife, her Majesty Queen Louisa.'—Here I interrupted him. 'It appears, then,' said I, 'that a man who is not a prince, and whose friends may nevertheless be in the other world, is not worthy to be spoken for by Mons. Swedenborg.' I went away, and he said while I was going: 'When you are gone, I shall be again directly in the company of spirits.' 'I was wrong,' I answered, 'not to have hurried away sooner, for you ought not, on my account, to lose a single moment of the time that you pass in such good company.'

Swedenborg naturally sent Klopstock to his writings, but the latter did not desire to know them. He "came to the point at once." If the spiritual world had been a chest of drawers, no one would have opened it for him on such a showing. There was not live motive enough to command the opening of a peepshow. He never waited for the completion of Swedenborg's sentence, but has left us to guess what

it might have been. It is clear that Klopstock misinterpreted it; and the presumption is that Swedenborg was going to tell him that kings could not command spiritual information on such trivial grounds. "Where there is no vision," saith the Scripture, "the people perish." At such a time the poets are the first to gasp and die of the missing ether. And Klopstock was a poet.

In a large company assembled in Gottenburg about 1770 in honour of Swedenborg, a manufacturer of the name of Bolander, the owner of extensive cloth-mills, was among the guests. During dinner Swedenborg suddenly turned to him, and said sharply: "Sir, you had better go to your mills!" Mr. Bolander was surprised at the tone of voice in which Swedenborg spoke, and thought it impolite; but he rose nevertheless from the table, and went to his mills. On arriving there he found that a large piece of cloth had fallen down near a furnace, and was on fire, and that if he had delayed much longer, his factory would have been in flames. After correcting the mischief Mr. Bolander returned to the company and expressed his thanks to Swedenborg, telling him what had happened. Swedenborg smiled and said he had seen the danger, and also that there was no time to be lost, which was the reason of his abruptness.

Dr. Kahl reports the following anecdote on what he considers good authority:—

"One day a certain prelate, Archbishop Troilius, whose greatest pleasure consisted in playing the game of 'tresett' (a game much played in former times), and who had lately lost one of his gambling friends, Erland Broman, met Swedenborg a short time after Broman's death in a large party, and wished to amuse himself and the rest of the company at Swedenborg's expense. He asked him therefore, in a jocular tone, 'By the bye, Assessor, tell us something about the spirit-world. How does my friend Broman spend

his time there?' Swedenborg answered instantly, 'I saw him but a few hours ago shuffling his cards in the company of the evil one, and he was only waiting for your Grace to make up a game of tresett.' The conversation between the Archbishop and Swedenborg was thus brought to a close." The Archbishop's banter was no doubt seen from afar before it entered his mind, and the answer was already dead-level with it as it arose in the conversation. Spiritual estates may have their man-traps and spring-guns like other guarded property.

In the early part of this biography (p. 15) we narrated the only love affair in which our author was engaged. Sandels says on the general subject: "Swedenborg was never married. This was not owing to any indifference towards the sex; for he esteemed the company of a fine and intelligent woman as one of the most agreeable of pleasures; but his profound studies rendered expedient for him the quiet of a single life." General Tuxen also relates that, "He once jocosely asked him, whether he had ever been married, or desirous of marrying? Swedenborg answered, 'That he had not been married; but that once in his youth he had been on the road to matrimony, King Charles the XIIth having recommended the famous Polhem to give him his daughter.' On asking what obstacle had prevented it, he said, 'She would not have me.' . . . The General craved his pardon if he had been too inquisitive: he replied, 'Ask whatever question you please, I shall answer it in truth.' Tuxen then enquired whether in his youth he could keep free from temptations with regard to the sex? Swedenborg replied, 'not altogether.'" This is corroborated by a passage in his *Drömmar*,* in which he speaks of his own tempera-

* The Diary of Dreams is indispensable for this part of Swedenborg's life, and fits into it exactly. He was then writing his last physiological works, and standing on the verge

ment. We do not cite General Tuxen's details, because they are obviously false, and come through the questionable medium of an English translation by Augustus Nordenskjöld, the Danish original of which is lost.

With regard to his first and only love, Emerentia Polhem, Swedenborg in his old age, as Tybeck relates, assured the daughters and sons-in-law of the former object of his affection, as they visited him in his garden, that "he could converse with their departed mother whenever he pleased." It was told us by the late Mr. Charles Augustus Tulk, but we have no document for it, that our author used to say that he had seen his allotted wife in the spiritual world, who was waiting for him, and under her mortal name had been a Countess Gyllenberg.

We have already dwelt at length upon the signs which for some years preceded the opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight. These indeed were of such a nature, that he afterwards wondered that he had not previously arrived at the persuasion that the Lord governs the universe by spiritual agency. Nevertheless he was in a position to make every allowance for the scepticism of others, for he admits

of the opening of his spiritual degrees and their faculties. The authenticity of the *Drömmar* has been questioned, but unsuccessfully: it is incontestable. The writer of these pages translated it from its Old Swedish for the Rev. Augustus Clissold about 1860; and the accuracy of the version was avouched by Mr. F. L. Cöster, then of the Swedish Consulate, who went *verbatim* over the work. It is Swedenborg to the life in all his then dates, places, circumstances, and lucubrations; sane to the last degree where others indeed might be insane. On p. 3 of G. E. Klemming's Edition, *Swedenborg's Drömmar, 1744, efter Original-Handskrifter*, Stockholm, (date in the Förord or Preface, June 4, 1859,) occurs the following:—"Huru som hogen för fruentimber så hastigt ändades, som varit min hufvudpassion." See a pamphlet by the Rev. Professor R. L. Tafel, *Ön Swedenborg's Diary for 1743 and 1744*, where all questions concerning the verity and value of this Diary (the *Drömmar*) are finally set at rest.

that on one occasion, many months after he had spoken with spirits, he perceived that if he were remitted into his former state, he might still fall back into the opinion that all he had seen was phantasy.

In the former part of this work, we have had occasion to notice some peculiarities that Swedenborg mentions of himself, as predisposing him to seership. Did we know more of his history, it is probable that these might be greatly extended, for whatever may be thought of his mission, it is certain that his case stands alone for the completeness of his peculiar gift, and its uninterrupted exercise. And as Deity operates by His own regular laws, we are sure that in such a person, every natural provision existed that the circumstances required. Hence Swedenborg's case may be studied like any other object of knowledge. If it could, however, be shown that his peculiarities were physical, hereditary, or acquired, this would not settle either way the question of his pretensions. Nay, were it sure that he was stark mad, it would not dispossess us of one truth or vision in his writings: these would survive the grave of his personal sanity, and bring us back to the ancient faith, that madness too has a divine side, and in its natural heedlessness sparkles with wisdom and prophecy, or even sometimes is interpolated with the directer oracles of God.*

But we deem that his state *was* in part hereditary, physical and acquired. His father and mother were as ready to believe in the angelic inspirations of his childhood, as he himself to indulge in and asseverate similar intercourse in after life. "Several of Bishop Swedenborg's works," says Sandels, "seem to show a

* Coleridge says of Swedenborg: "O! nos terque quaterque felices, si modo hujus sæculi doctis et docentibus datum fuerit eandem insaniam insanire, dementiam scilicet cœlestem et de mente divinâ effluentem!" (S. T. C., Sept. 22nd, 1821, Highgate.) See the *Monthly Magazine*, Vol. V., p. 614, 1841.

tendency to behold in certain events a species of prophetic indications." The bishop was particularly pleased to inform himself of supernatural appearances, one of which he recorded in his works, and also wrote an account of it* to the Bishop of Bristol in 1710, wherein he said, that "its truth was certain," and had been confirmed by the personal enquiries of Field Marshal Count Stenbock. He ended his letter to the bishop thus: "I am not inclined myself, and would be far from persuading any one, to credulity and superstition. But may not the all-wise God, in all ages, think it necessary, by extraordinary instances, to fix upon the minds of mankind some signal impressions of His over-ruling power, and of the truth of His holy Gospel?" More may come out on this head when Bishop Swedenborg's *Autobiography* is published. In the meantime we further observe, on the authority of Dr. Tafel, that spirit-seeing has recently appeared in a youthful descendant of the Swedenborg family now living in Sweden. And for the rest, Scandinavia itself is a charmed magnetic land, native also in the narrow depths of science, and peculiarly fitted for contributing to Europe a mathematical seer, strong enough to overrun both mystery and science from the *tertium quid* of his own profound individuality. This is just what Swedenborg, with his first adult lips, professed to do.

His coolness and tranquillity, and unselfish character, were also circumstances essential to his higher gifts. We know how vital they are to the prosecution of the sciences. "The Lord," he said, "had given him a love of spiritual truth, that is to say, not with a view to honour or profit, but merely for the sake of the truth itself." No man of that age was so uninterrupted in his mind, or so nakedly devout to his objects as Swedenborg. "The elements them-

* See the *British Magazine*, Sept. 1746, pp. 252, 253; also Swedenborg's *Animal Kingdom*, Vol. II., p. 428 in the notes.

selves," said Sandels, "would have striven in vain to turn him from his course." The competency also of his fortune excluded one species of cares, which he seemed only to taste occasionally for the experiment of their spiritual results. There is a passage in his *Diary* which illustrates this. "I have now," says he, "been for thirty-three months in a state in which my mind is withdrawn from bodily affairs; and hence can be present in the societies of the spiritual and the celestial. . . . Yet whenever I am intent upon worldly matters, or have cares and desires about money, (such as caused me to write a letter to-day,) I lapse into a bodily state; and the spirits, as they inform me, cannot speak with me, but say that they are in a manner absent. . . . This shews me that spirits cannot speak with a man who dwells upon worldly and bodily cares; for the things of the body draw down his ideas, and drown them in the body. March 4, 1748." It was however seldom that Swedenborg experienced such distractions, and as for his fame in the world, and the success of his books, these were things that did not occur to him. When General Tuxen asked him how many he thought there were in the world who favoured his doctrine, he replied, that "there might perhaps be fifty, and in proportion the same number in the world of spirits." But said he to Springer, "God knows the time when His church ought to commence."

His diet was a constant harmony and preparation of his seership. "Eat not so much" (above, p. 76, 77) was written over its portal, and the instruction was obeyed throughout the *curriculum* of his experiences. The vermin of gluttony are all those bodily lives that exceed the dominion of spiritual; and these he cast out and kept out, fining down the body to the shapely strictness of the soul. We read of one excess that he committed, and which is recorded in his *Diary*, under the heading, "The stench of intemperance." "One evening," says he, "I took a great meal of milk and

bread, more than the spirits considered good for me. On this occasion they dwelt upon intemperance, and accused me of it." He then proceeds to say, that they made him sensibly perceive the foulness which their ideas attributed to him. If so infantine a debauch was thus reprov'd, we may imagine how sensitive a thermometer of appetite his daily spiritual relations furnished; how the spirits that came to him opened a correspondence with the "animal spirits" that were embodied by his diet. Seership, as a general rule, is coincident with abstemiousness, which is the directest means of putting down the body, and by the law of the balance, of lifting up the soul; and where seership is thus produced, it will of itself lead to new demands from the soul, or new exigencies of temperance. "Spare fast that oft with Gods doth diet," says Milton. We might instance the Hindoo seers as examples of these remarks, or we might support them by numerous cases occurring in Europe, and even at the present time; not to mention that the germs of the experience are within every man's knowledge.

As the man depends so much upon the dinner, and the dinner upon the appetite and the self-control, it is interesting to know what was the diet of a man so industrious, peaceful and deep-eyed as Swedenborg. For some time after his spiritual intercourse commenced, his mode of living appears to have been not unusual, excepting that the quantity was moderate: he occasionally drank one or two glasses of wine after dinner, but never more; and he took no supper. In company, throughout his life, he followed the habit of the table, and took wine, "but always very moderately." During the last fifteen years of his life he almost abandoned the use of animal food, yet at times would eat a little fish, eels particularly. His main stays were bread and butter, milk and coffee, almonds and raisins, vegetables, biscuits, cakes and gingerbread, which he used frequently to bring home with

him, and share with the children. He was a water-drinker, but his chief beverage was coffee made very sweet, and without milk. Collin is correct when he says that pensive men generally are fond of coffee. At his house in Stockholm he had a fire from winter to spring almost constantly in his study, at which he made his own coffee, and drank it often both in the day and the night. He took snuff largely. It appears that he abstained from animal food from dietetic considerations. At the same time there dwelt in his mind a vegetarian tendency, pointed towards the future, or at least, what is the same thing, crying out from the past. He writes on the subject in his *Arcana* as follows: "Considered apart, eating the flesh of animals is somewhat profane. The most ancient people never on any account eat the flesh of either beast or fowl, but lived entirely upon grain, especially on wheaten bread, on fruit, vegetables and herbs, various kinds of milk, butter, etc. It was unlawful for them to kill animals, or to eat their flesh. They looked upon it as bestial, and were content with the uses and services that animals afforded them. But in process of time, when men became as cruel as wild beasts, yea, much more cruel, they began to slay animals, and eat their flesh; and in consideration of this nature in man, the killing and eating of animals was permitted, and continues to be so."

Some of Swedenborg's pursuers have alleged the whole of his experiences to his coffee-drinking; for coffee, acting upon a pure temperament, will, they say, produce excitability, sleeplessness, abnormal activity of mind and imagination, and fantastic visions; also loquacity. We credit these effects of coffee. But he is a mad doctor who would try to pour the *Arcana* or the *Diarium* out of a coffee pot. Nevertheless there is a truth in the allegation, for if Swedenborg's was a life providential for a certain end, then the coffee might be a part of the providence,

and lend its import to the seer. We forget that if God makes the world, He also makes everything in it, and a new world of things through other things. If coffee will dispose to clear-seeing, surely the means do not injure the end. No doubt seers are as regular fabrics as crystals, and not a drug or berry is omitted from their build, when it is wanted. Apart from metaphysics, the time has gone by when anything is made out of nothing. The question then is, not only how Swedenborg came to be a visionary, but also what are his visions worth? Let the revelations criticize the coffee, as well as *vice versa*. The prophets of old, unless we are mistaken, had their diet enjoined; but the diet which supported, would be the last thing to contradict the prophecy. The truth is, we do not yet know what diet ensures, or that it is the stuff in the potter's hands that makes us either porcelain or common pot, either satin or cotton.

Swedenborg was peculiar in the matter of sleep; in his latter years he paid little attention to times and seasons; often laboured through the whole night, and had no stated periods of repose. "When I am sleepy," said he, "I go to bed." He kept also little account of the days of the week. As we have seen already, he sometimes continued in bed for several days together when enjoying his spiritual trances. He desired Shearsmith never to disturb him at such times; an injunction which was necessary, for the look of his face was so peculiar on these occasions that Shearsmith sometimes feared he was dead. At other times as soon as he awoke he went into his study when in Stockholm, kindled the embers of his fire from a ready supply of dry wood and birch bark, and immediately sat down to write.

He was not fluent in conversation; indeed he had an impediment in his speech, which perhaps predisposed him to the loss of it that he suffered from his apoplectic seizure. It does not appear that he had

a remarkable facility for acquiring languages, for we find that although he resided so long in London, he could not hold a running conversation in English. He was, however, sufficiently acquainted with the modern languages, as well as with Hebrew, Greek and Latin. All the authorities agree that his speech, though not facile, was impressive. He spoke with deliberation, and when his voice was heard, it was a signal for silence in others, while the slowness of his delivery increased the curiosity of the listeners. He entered into no disputes on matters of religion, but when obliged to defend himself, he did it mildly and briefly; and if any one insisted upon argument, and became warm against him, he retired, with a recommendation to them "to read his writings." One day, when Mr. Cookworthy was with him in Coldbath Fields, a person present objected to something that he said, and argued the point in his own way; but Swedenborg only replied, "I receive information from angels upon such things:" a response of a forcible nature, supposing it true, for how many problems introduction into the spiritual world would answer. What a smiting criticism for instance Polhem made, or rather *was*, upon the burial service, just because he stood *beyond* the grave (p. 90). Mr. Burckhardt relates, that on one occasion he was present when Swedenborg dined in London with some of the Swedish clergy; and a polemic arising between him and one of them concerning the Lord, and the nature of our duty to Him, Swedenborg "overthrew the tenets of his opponent, who appeared but a child to him in knowledge." We can believe that there was a formidable power in his slow utterances.

Were this the place we might say much upon the almost invariable partition that takes place between the gifts of speaking and of thoughtful writing; so seldom united in one person. The difference between the endowments lies somewhat in mental velocities, the

writer deploying his forces with a slowness measured to the pen strokes; the orator rushing forth with his at voice-speed. The light and heavy dragoons of intelligence fulfil different tactics in the battles of the Word. Where impediment of speech takes place, it is a sign of lacking communication between the mind and the organs—of meanings in discourse coming down flashwise; and in Swedenborg's instance, it might argue some predisposition for that separation and absence of soul from body for which his life was otherwise remarkable: if this be not too medical an opinion.

It may not be out of place to say a word about Swedenborg's Latin in his theological works. Its facility is unquestionable and remarkable. Mr. George Long, Professor of University College, said to our friend, the late Ralph N. Wornum, "*That man thinks in Latin.*" Swedenborg's style is however peculiar and translucent. The language is copious, and surprises by the wide resources of learning on which it rests. He might have had Cicero and Seneca and many other authors, ancient and modern, by heart, as the fountains of his vocabulary. And he is full of exactitude. His technicalities are felicitous beyond alteration. They are however few, and easily mastered. But no translator can overlook them without injuring the backbone of Swedenborg's doctrinal works. His statements, essentially methodical and square, as, for instance, in the exegetical paragraphs of the *Apocalypse Revealed*, are as perfect in out-throw, conception and construction, as Horace's *Odes*, and their power of statement is unrivalled. The greatest authors and poets fail of confidence before it. It is our opinion that the Latin language takes a new departure in compass and facility in the theology of Swedenborg; and that he has given it again to the world in a spiritual-commercial currency which will always make it a vehicle of high international and inter-mental thought,

until perhaps one universal language comes down to a brotherhood of nations. The Lord's name as King of the Jews was written above the cross in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. His full Regality occurs in Latin only in the illuminated pages of Swedenborg.

As for the translation into English of Swedenborg's Latin works, it will require a New Church Sorbonne, with a gifted complement of language, and an absence of disputation, to do justice to the task.

When in London he went occasionally to the Swedish church, and afterwards dined with Ferelius or some other of his countrymen; but he told them that "he had no peace in the church on account of spirits, who contradicted what the preacher said, especially when he spoke of three persons in the Godhead, which amounted in reality to three gods."

During his latter years he became less and less attentive to the concerns of this world: even when walking abroad he seemed to be engaged in spiritual communion, and took little notice of things and people in the streets. When he went out in Stockholm without the observation of his domestics, some singularity in his dress perchance would betoken his abstraction. Once when he dined with Robsahm's father, he appeared with one shoe-buckle of plain silver, and the other set with precious stones; greatly to the amusement of the young ladies of the party. But a man of 80 and upwards, a seer and an old bachelor besides, might be pardoned for some inattentions.

In person, says Shearsmith, he was about 5 feet 9 inches high; he was rather thin, and of a brown complexion. His eyes were brownish grey, nearly hazel, and rather small. He had always a cheerful smile on his countenance. Mr. Servanté remembered him as an old gentleman of a dignified and venerable appearance, whose thoughtful yet mildly expressive countenance, added to something very unusual in his air, attracted his attention forcibly. When Collin visited

him he was thin and pale, but still retained traces of beauty, and had something very pleasing in his physiognomy, and a dignity in his erect stature. Ab Indagine relates that his eyes were always smiling; and Robsahm, that his countenance was always illuminated by the light of his uncommon genius. When he lodged with Bergström he usually walked out after breakfast dressed neatly in velvet, and made a good appearance. His suit, according to Shearsmith, was made after an old fashion, and he wore a full-bottomed wig, a pair of long ruffles, and a curious hilted sword, and carried a gold-headed cane. In Sweden his dress was simple, but neat and convenient: during the winter he was clad in a garment of reindeer skins, and in summer, in a study gown, "both well worn,"—so Robsahm says,—“as became a philosopher.” Ferelius has an odd anecdote about him: “that he never washed his face or his hands, and never brushed his clothes, but said that no dust or dirt would stick to him.” Tafel considers this to be a calumny, which perhaps it is, but Ferelius does not say so. We may remark that at the time of which the reverend gentleman speaks, Swedenborg was in his 84th year. None of his other biographers allude to this peculiarity. He would not tolerate linen sheets on his bed, but lay between woollen blankets. Wherever he lived, his habits were plain to the last degree: in Stockholm he required no services of his old gardener's wife, but to make his bed, and bring a large pitcher of water daily to his study; for the rest, he waited upon himself. His journeys were made with no parade, and few of the conveniences of travelling. He took no servant with him, and rode in an open waggon from Stockholm to Gottenburg, where he embarked for England or Holland, to have his manuscripts printed.

In money matters Swedenborg was at once saving and liberal. Those with whom he had affairs spoke

always of his generosity. Provided with sufficient means, he administered them strictly for public services. Whatever his motives might be, it is certain that he would receive back no proceeds from the sale of certain of his works, but dedicated the whole to religious subscriptions.* Possibly he deemed that as he was but a receiver of spiritual goods and truths, he had no right to keep a commercial account of the results. Moreover, he sold his works at unremunerative prices, and indeed gave a great portion of them away. When Dr. Hartley offered to lend him money, he returned for answer that "as to this world's wealth he had what was sufficient, and more he neither sought nor wished for." Count Höpken says that "he lived frugally without sordidness, and that his travels cost him no more than when he remained at home." He was not remarkably in the habit of almsgiving, for he used to say that "most of those who solicit alms are either lazy or vicious, and if from compassion you give them money without examination, it is rather an injury than a benefit." He did not lend money, for that, he said, is the way to lose it; and besides, he added, "I want my money to pay the expenses of travelling and printing." When Shearsmith, his landlord, presented his bills, Swedenborg used to send him to his drawer to pay himself; a careless-looking mode, but a real *clairvoyant* knows of course with whom he has to deal.

His manners were those of a nobleman and gentleman of the last century. He was somewhat reserved, but complaisant; accessible to all, and had something very loving and taking in his demeanour. Personally he left good impressions behind him wherever he appeared.

His labours during the sixty-three years of his

* It is probable, however, that he derived some valuable returns from his scientific books, and particularly from his Philosophical and Mineral Works. See Robsahm.

authorship were of a surprising magnitude: we may estimate that his volumes would make about sixty octavos of 500 pages each in English. About forty of these are already translated, and many of them have gone through numerous editions in England and America. When it is remembered that his works consist almost entirely of the deepest analysis, or treat upon the highest subjects, the quantity which issued from his pen becomes still more astonishing. There is indeed a vast amount of repetition in his books, for as be seemed a teacher, he professed repetition, and was not studious of artistic effect. But with all deductions, his quantity does not exceed his quality.

He made use of no amanuensis for his books, but was self-helping as well as self-contained throughout. From the beginning of his theological mission, he framed indexes or rather digests of what he wrote, whereby he was enabled to refer from part to part of his extensive manuscripts. These indexes are models of compression and arrangement, and are themselves large and readable volumes. They shew at a glance what a crowd of "capital aphorisms"* there is in his works, and how impossible it is to give an exhaustive statement of them in a short compass. In his latter years the Bible in various languages was his whole library.

Our narrative has shewn that Swedenborg resided in London many times, and there published many of his works. It may not be displeasing to the English reader to know what he says of our nation in the spiritual world. His *Diary* in particular abounds with passages about us, but we cite only one from the *Continuation of the Last Judgment*. "The more excellent of the English nation," says he, "are in the

* "No person," says Bacon, "is equal to the forming of aphorisms, or would ever think of them, if he did not find himself copiously and solidly instructed for writing upon a subject."

centre of all Christians, and the reason why they are in the centre is, because they have interior intellectual light. This is not apparent to any one in the natural world, yet it is conspicuous in the spiritual world. This light they derive from the liberty they enjoy of thinking, and thence of speaking and of writing. Among the people of other nations, who have not such liberty, intellectual light is buried, because it has no outlet. This light, however, of itself, is not active, but is rendered active by others, especially by men of reputation and authority among them. As soon as anything is said by these men, or as soon as anything they approve is read, that light shines forth; but seldom sooner. On this account the English have governors placed over them in the spiritual world, and priests of great name for learning and powerful ability are given them, whose commands and advice, from this their natural disposition, they cheerfully obey.

"They rarely go out of their own society, because they love it, even as in the world they love their country. Moreover, there is a similarity of disposition among them, in consequence of which they contract intimacy with friends of their own country, and seldom with others; and they mutually minister to each other's wants, and love sincerity." May the best among us long stand as high in both the worlds!

The upper parts of Swedenborg's character rose from the groundwork of excellent citizenship and social qualities. Naturally inoffensive and conservative, he was at one with the general polity, and never dreamt of innovations that would interfere with the moral basis of the state. Even his theology was referable, in his view, to an existing authority in the Bible, and in harmony with the earliest creeds of the church, so far as they went. He lent himself freely to his family ties, but never allowed them to interrupt his justice. As a friend he was staunch and equally

independent. The sentiment of duty ruled him without appeal in his public as in his private affairs: he had no acquaintances but society and his country when *their* interests were involved. In disseminating his religious ideas, he was open and above board; placed his books within the reach of the Christian world, and there left them, to Providence and the readers. By no trick did he ever seek to force attention, and intrigue had no part in his character. Notwithstanding his attachment to his first admirers, he kept his own space around him, and was not impeded by any followers. Tender and amicable in his nature, he was always distant enough to have that large arm's-length that so peculiar a workman required. Ambition he must have had in some sense, but so transpierced and smitten with zeal for his fellows, that we can only call it, public love. The power of order and combination is a main feature in his capacious intellect; those who open him as a visionary, are struck with the masculine connexion which he everywhere displays. His sensual nature was evidently an obedient though a powerful vehicle to his mind. He was perfectly courageous in that kind that his mission needed; firm, but unobtrusive, in all courts and companies, and ever bending whither his conscience prescribed. Religion was the mild element that governed the rest, converting them past their own natures by its lively flames, and he walked with the constant sentiment of God between him and his fellows, giving and receiving dignity among God's children. His life indeed is not heroic in the old fashion, but take his own account of it, and he has travelled far and perilled much: he has seen and been what would bleach the lips of heroes. Whether you receive his account or not, you must own that his structure was heroic, for how otherwise could he have outlived those tremendous "fancies" of heaven and hell? But let that pass, and we still claim him as a hero in

the new campaign of peace. The first Epic of the Study is the song that will celebrate him. There are many simple problems, but how few dare face them: it is more difficult to be courageous there than before batteries of cannon; it is more impossible to the most to lead the forlorn hopes of thought, discouraged since history began, to victory, than to mount the scaling ladder in the imminent deadly breach. To do the one requires only command of body: to perform the other needs courage over the brain itself; fighting against organism and stupidity older and more terrifying than armies. Select your problem, and ask the world round who will besiege it until it cedes the truth, and you soon find that of all the soldiers there is none who does not straightway show fatigue and sob "impossible," which are cowardice under its literary name. In these ages there has been no man who stood up so manfully to his problems as Swedenborg, who wielded his own brains so like a spirit, or knew so experimentally that labour commanded by the Lord of labour rises over death. Therefore we name him Leader of the world's free thought and free press; the Religious Captain of the heroes of the writing table. The Victory of the Doctrines and informations he brought as a Commissioner to mankind may indeed be slow, for the gates of the Fortress which withstands them are massive; but these gates will not prevail against him in the end.

PART IV.

SPIRITUAL OPENINGS AND WANTS.

It is extraordinary how well Swedenborg has answered the children's questions; those enquiries of little tongues that the parents divert, but do not satisfy. If we wished to give his theology an experiment, we should select for its recipients children of from five to ten years of age, and teach them nothing of it except in answer to their own enquiries. The whole scheme would be elicited presently by the moving curiosity of almost infantine querists. As a satisfaction to such like, including those simple adults whose faculties are as those of children, there is a completeness in his revelations; the first circle of intellectual wants is gratified with parental forethought; the proffered education, drawn forth by the pupil himself, is exact and suitable; and the youthful mind runs no danger of subsequent complexity in the learning with which his easy teacher provides him. The Personal Maker of the world, His name and abode; His quality as the best of men; the purpose of all things for our use; the immortality not of the soul but of the man, or rather not his immortality but his straight continuance; the way in which people die and rise again; the great pleasantness of heaven for the good, and the pain of hell for the naughty; the men and women living in each of the bright stars, and one day to be our friends—these are things to satisfy babes of all conditions and ages. We would back Swedenborg for com-

forting little ones weeping over a lost brother or sister against all the clergy that ever preached. We would back him at a marriage for throwing upon the wedding ring a brighter shine of the skies. We should have confidence in him for the real events and unguarded moments that happen to men through life. However this may be, he is the first theologian with a voice that penetrates into the nursery, and becomes part of the mother's tale, or the governess's explanations. Indeed he has answered none but children's questions, which are the first pure wants of knowledge. Until these were met, no questions had been answered; and so he began at the beginning. He is preëminently the Gamaliel for the youngest faculties.

His own infantine acceptance of the Christian religion enables him to converse with children's wants. No learned man is so free from dogmatic learning as Swedenborg. He came to his Bible as though seventeen centuries of controversy had been rescinded in his favour, with a fresh eye and an unconscious understanding. He left off mending his nets, and became a fisher of men. It shewed much faculty of communication, that he should be spiritually with the old fishermen, in spite of the impediment of learning, and of the intervention of ages. The brain must have been permeable, from his own adult organism, to the unabridged infancy within it. The most of men forget their babyhood; if they were introduced to themselves long back, they would blush, and "not have the pleasure" of knowing themselves; the first-laid candid fibres of their souls have been cowed over with rude red flesh, and are seldom known to be extant within it. But so it was not with Swedenborg, who communicated from end to end of his experience in pleasant transits of clear-seeing and easy moving. It was this that empowered him to go to the realms where little children are. Once there, there is no difference of ranks or ages, spirits or men, Christians or

Turks; no distance between the sun and the eye; impossibility is unknown, and death unsuspected. A man who can without knot or break receive the flashes of his childhood, is from his rarity a marvellous character, and good may be expected of him.

The truths of the connexion of things are those especially that he may declare. Coherent himself from first to last, he will see coherency where others miss it, and establish it where it is wanting. He will in short be a link, affectionate, doctrinal, or real. Swedenborg was such a link, and he and his writings may be looked on, in one point of view, as entirely an organ of communications. Let us regard them in this light with respect to some cardinal topics.

Truths, like the world itself which is one among them, consist of two things, places and roads. The intellectual globe lies round and coloured as the material, consisting of continents, countries and counties, or genera, classes and species, and these are the places of the mind. Then between them, linking them in one, there are the truths of connexion, or the analogies that run from subject to subject; these are the roads of the mind. It is in knowledge so regarded that we now trace the presence of Swedenborg's genius.

This view distributes away much of the difficulty that hangs about him, and enables us to treat him in his threefold character of philosopher, seer, and subject of revelations, without the one element impugning or annulling the other two. The man who is *open*, is *ipso facto* an envoy and ambassador living for amenities and reconciliations which are not dreamt of until he appears.

A new religion is almost necessarily followed by new communications established by mankind with various departments of knowledge and existence; and Swedenborg was the Apostle of a New Religion. His position

of the Divine Humanity as the sole, and only possible, object of worship, and his identifying of Jesus Christ with that object, amounts to a fresh link between God and man, in other words, to a new religion. The quantity of truth—of way and intercourse that is involved in that tenet, can hardly be estimated. In the highest case it unites the senses with the soul, spirituality with history, divinity with humanity, the private heart and the humblest knowledge and confidence with universal love and the sovereign justice of the Lord. It compounds or realizes the highest truth, and brings it into the world. It is the central at-one-ment, and already puts sight upon faith, and faith into sight, and abolishes miracle, by constituting it afresh as the order of nature. This is the greatest contribution of Swedenborg's books to human weal—the seizure of the fact, and the demonstration of the necessity, of the Incarnation, because this makes God approachable through Him who is the Way, and approachable for all alike, children or men, learned or unlearned, sensual or subtle. This we term a new religion, because it leads us to a new God, and through a way new in its fulness, namely, all our human faculties together.

After this, in which God Himself is known to the senses, all other cases of communication and correspondence, being of a lesser nature, are easy and intelligible. Mankind is most estranged from the Most High; if this distance by His mercy be shortened and abolished, the smaller gap that separates man from any created thing, cannot be an essential bar to his brotherhood with it. If the space between the Holy One who inhabits eternity, and the sensual nature of mankind, be actually annulled, there is no space left in the way of hindrance, but only as an organ of communications. The world of truth in this wise is like the great ocean covered with ships, it is all roads and highways, one sublime plain, giving

passage to every love, and fair winds to all desirable knowledge.

There is no religion, if it be lively, but tends to open the other life, because every religion prepares us for the future, keeps the spiritual as an end in view, and by consequence realizes it before the mind so far as it is able. Perhaps with the exception of Protestantism, there is not a faith recorded in the world's history but has leant upon supernatural revelations; and these the more bright and frequent, in proportion as we approach towards more primitive ages. A religion that has not the key of the spiritual world, is to this extent a failure, and enjoins its votaries to shoot at a mark that is not put up. Swedenborg's eyes, opened upon the other life, are then nothing extraordinary; they are eyes exercising that function that belongs to every justly religious man, and which is but a minor department of his prerogatives, included in his knowledge of God. It is the order of creation that the ends of actions should be seen, in order to the shaping of beginnings, and seen not by intuition or philosophy, but by fair straightforward sight. The current vision of the end guides and steers the means towards their local fitness in the work. The first communication then which we signalize in Swedenborg, is that between the natural and spiritual worlds, which after being shamefully lost, is logically restored in this plain religious man.

Concurrently with this he is the medium of proclaiming the spirit of the Word, and reconciling it with the letter. This is but part of the former case; or rather it is the whole, because the Word is the divine truth in heaven as upon earth. The spiritual world of the Word is the universal heaven: heavenly truth, heavenly space and heavenly objects are one and the same thing in that sphere. The unfolding of the inward or spiritual sense is then coincident with the entrance of a prepared man into the spiritual

world. The science of correspondences arises under these circumstances. The comparison between two harmonious worlds necessarily gives birth to it. Apart from this comparison, truth must be simple and superficial; the spiritual deficient in weight, the natural devoid of fire: but let the two worlds be seen concurrently, and along the harmonies that subsist between them, the one will pass into the other, and a complemental marriage ensue. The truths of harmony or connexion, the doctrine of correspondences, are the legitimate fruits of that union.

Swedenborg's function is therefore important because of his experience: he had seen both soul and body, and knew their harmony or agreement, which no one *could* know unless he saw both. Some of his allegations founded upon his compound experience may provoke incredulity. He often says that he taught the angels of heaven many truths. Philosophical shoulders shrug at the assertion. But why so? A man who lived in two worlds at once, would, by his doubleness, learn and teach something that no single-world denizen could suspect. The angels did not know, until Swedenborg's visit, what matter was, or that it was distinct from spirit; they had lost their experience of it in gaining that of spirit; and it was only when a man came, who embraced at once matter and spirit and the difference between them, that an experience was given which taught what the difference is. For positive experience is as needful for angels and archangels, as for chemists, philosophers, and mechanics. In fact, in all wisdom there is no substance but fact, and nothing so divine as experience. He that has it, no matter whether he be high lived or low lived, upon his own subject, is a proper schoolmaster for angels.

Swedenborg, then, as the correspondent between the worlds, and between the soul and body of the Word, in the exercise of his duplex sight and thought

necessarily learns, in his own measure, the science of correspondences. This science is the spirit of his communications, regarded in their altitude.

An *open* mind is at one with itself, and feels itself as a harmony; whatever it thinks, is a thought enriched; whatever it does, is a marriage deed. It is a soul and a body in all cogitation and operation. Its truths are worlds, and its worlds are truths. It is a bundle of centres where the plumb lines of spirit tie love knots with the superficial rays of nature, and lay in coloured, living mosaic the ground floor of a solid man. Thenceforth, his doctrines, embodied and illuminated, are sights and voices—things seen and heard. His intelligence is *dairvoyance*; what he thinks, that he sees, and *vice versa*. Most of us are fragments and divorces,—the products of some former violence or convulsion, but such is not he, but rather a fair planet on which Eden continues. Things to us the most irreconcilable, are his sweet harmonies. He is most wilful when he is doing God's will. His human reason is most independent when he is recipient of a divine revelation; his truth and God's truth belong all the more severely to each because they are the other's. The efforts of his genius are his obedience to a divine commission. He does not turn the tables upon his Maker, and discourse of "subject and object," and other illegitimate offspring of divorced soul and body; but he knows that he is something because God is something, and that any preponderance given to himself will make him shadowy and eccentric. Such a man, in his measure, was Swedenborg, and, therefore, at a certain stage of his development, that is to say, of his Divine preparation, his mind became a spiritual eye; his thoughts, experimental travelling; his doctrines, spiritual cities and scenery; and the deep movements of his sympathy, intercourse with departed men and women belonging to all ages and to several universes. The whole was

fenced around by the solemnization of the union between religion and good works, whose early divorce had so long occluded the Book of Life.

This is the middle of harmony, the region of self-communications, where heart, and life, and doctrine, and sense, advantage each other and are each other. This is the flavour of humanity when it is ripe in the hands of God: the fruit hangs upon the tree, and yet is dead to the tree, for the sun is now the tree on which its ripeness grows.

We see that in a harmonic man there is nothing abnormal, but all that is natural, in supernatural pretensions. Man is at once a natural and a preternatural being. It is his own fault if he flings away his better half. Divine commissions are intended to be common whenever men can receive them. Worthy men and women departed are angels, that is to say, God's ministers. There is no hereditary nobility in the skies, but the poorest goodness takes its own place. Many of the last are first, and of the first are last. We are not then offended with Swedenborg for claiming a privilege which he asserts is the common privilege of mankind. Every heart is meant to be a vessel of divine sympathies; every intellect, an instrument of divine communications; all senses are given that God and heaven may be seen. The strangeness of this man's life is only a criticism upon his age. Had he lived before that flood which drowned the calmest perceptions of the race, he might have passed for a common-place man, too much addicted to worldly sciences, and impeded by mortality. Now he is bright and remarkable from the murkiness of our civilized air.

We have not yet done with that opening or road-making which radiates from his works as a centre. There is no large space of thought that has not become more accessible, and we will add, more loveable, in consequence of what he wrote. Observe the broad

access laid down in his works between his own theology and other religions. The science of correspondences, the link between the worlds, comes easily into lower relations, and proclaims the original unity of religious systems. The Hindoo and Grecian and Norse mythologies are translated into a Christianity as old as the world, through the restoration of that universal language whose symbols are sun and moon, and the objects of creation. The first manifested Word of God was the world itself; the meaning that lay in the world was what the first readers understood. They wrote their mythologies, not in vowels and consonants, but in hieroglyphical things. Those mythologies, at length, were ill and perversely written, and at last the symbols overpowered the sense and occupied its place. But still, whatever truth they have is to be attained by hieroglyphic interpretation. What a field is here opened for missionary enterprises. The heathen may be led back from the entanglement of their religions, to their own ancestral truths; and then, by a readier passage, towards the Christian centre. The church is the heart and lungs of the world, and by such a missionary enterprise, its pulses and attractions begin to permeate the Asiatic and Mahometan remoteness, to discuss and eliminate the accretions of time, and to raise the whole race, as a man, into warm-blooded life. No evidences, or even examples, plastered upon heathenism, will convert the barbarian, but heathenism itself is the unwilling witness to the Christian faith.

There is something well fitted to the Asiatic in Swedenborg's genius. His conception of the Grand Man, although we believe *scientifically* original, is in singular harmony with the large and spherical thought of the oriental religions. Indeed, his scientific views are so similar to the Chinese cosmogonies, that were it necessary to seek for the parentage of the works of genius (which it never is), we might easily build up

the former out of the latter. There is, however, an element in him which the East has not, a more than European, perhaps a peculiarly Scandinavian activity, which demands a material world as the stern proof-place of thoughts and contemplations. There is also, by consequence, a reliance on personal man, which tramples out Pantheism, and will be satisfied with no perfection less spirit-shaped than a personal God; and this is a side of life that the East has squandered and forgotten.

The Mahometan creed is not unnoticed by Swedenborg, and he regards it differently from the Protestant divines. With him it is a permitted, provisional religion, midway between Christianity and the ancient East, which availed to extirpate the idolatries of many nations, and to declare some important truths, such as the unity of God, which may in time be united to the Christian facts. Moreover, Mahometanism—the old-world Protestantism—opened in its way the spiritual world; and Swedenborg has gone far to shew that the visions of Mahomet, whether fantastic or not, may have been actual representatives in the spiritual atmospheres: he does not imitate Grotius and his successors, in branding the Arabian prophet as an impostor. Indeed he has given a clue to the legendary and fairy lore of all nations, so that we may hope in time to make it serviceable for the combined purposes of a spiritual and natural anthropology.

As to the world's superstitious sciences, they are so important a field, that we regret to have little space to devote to them in their connexion with Swedenborg's principles. There is a truth lies in them all. They are founded severally upon certain large insights and thaumaturgic powers, which are never alien to nature when harmonious man appears. Magic itself is but the evil application of the science of correspondences; the prevalence of magic was a

reason why that science was taken away from the earth. In our own day, simultaneously with the appearance of Swedenborg, these lost arts and sciences are coming back, especially through mesmerism and its kindred progeny. We can only indicate that the student of these subjects will find them amply treated from the spiritual side in Swedenborg's writings, and above all, in his *Diary*, where it is shewn that they are matters most accredited in the spiritual world. The wonders of that world are palpable enough. Perhaps, however, until our own day, no one was sufficiently aware of how wonderful nature herself is *going to be*, when the ages are riper, or of how certainly the height of the spiritual is the prophecy of the future of the natural. To our Saviour, this world was as plastic as any world need be; and to His true disciples, He promised the like powers, and the like obedience from the world. In short, he inaugurated the miraculous as the order of nature, and the realization of this we look upon as the outward measure and standard of the human regeneration. In the meantime, the despised and obscure truths by which nature already emulates the spiritual, may group themselves, where their aims are good, round Swedenborg's principles and correspondences, as round a fortress sufficiently able to consolidate and protect them. But as they value self-preservation, let them resign their baser worldliness, and cease to lean upon the corrupt impotence of materialism. We may now add in a later year, let them abjure their supposed parentage from the human selfhood, and bring every spirit to the bar of the Holy Word.

Nothing indeed is more evident to-day, than that the men of facts are afraid of a large number of important facts. All the spiritual facts, of which there are plenty in every age, are denounced as superstition. The best attested spirit stories are not

well received by that scientific courtesy which takes off its grave hat to a new beetle or a fresh vegetable alkaloid. Large wiggled science behaves worse to our ancestors than to our vermin. Evidence on spiritual subjects is regarded as an impertinence by the learned; so timorous are they, and so morbidly fearful of ghosts. If they were not afraid, they would investigate; but nature is to them a churchyard, in which they must whistle their dry tunes to keep up their courage. They should come to Swedenborg, who has made ghosts themselves into a science. As the matter stands, we are bold to say, that there is no class that so little follows its own rules of uncaring experiment and induction, or has so little respect for facts, as the hard-headed scientific men. They are attentive enough to a class of facts that nobody values,—to beetles, spiders, and fossils,—but as to those dear facts that common men and women, in all time and place, have found full of interest, wonder, or importance, they shew them a deaf ear, and a callous heart. Science, in this, neglects its mission, which is to give us in knowledge a transcript of the world, and primarily of that in the world which is nearest and dearest to the soul.

Swedenborg has also conducted a railroad from the Nineteenth century to Eden; a sympathy from the historical to the unhistorical ages. Of all histories there is none so desirable, or so unattainable, as the narrative of that happy state before history began. The day of no annals is the only portion of human experience which deserves to be recorded. The tables of goodness and happiness give the kings and priests of the immemorial epoch. Paradise was its name. The re-discovery of that time and country is due to Swedenborg's *Arcana*, elicited from the simple record in *Genesis*. All is written there, but till Swedenborg came, no man could read it. The science of correspondences in union with spiritual

experience has opened the path to those ancient realms. What wings for the poor gravitating antiquary in such disclosures as these! what a conversion of research into a key to the lost and future happiness of the race. No matter if at first the discoveries are of the spiritual kind; they will lead without fail to the mundane account of the earliest people, and unite with the archaeological sciences when reason holds them with a firmer hand. The strata of the earth have been explored; Swedenborg has explored also the strata of the heavens: geology and ouranology are natural counterparts; and the science that lies between them and unites them, will give the physical story and the metaphysical education of our progenitors. Thereafter we shall never travel by that road which lands civilization back to savagery for its origin, or carries the savage to his *first Adam* in the monkey, but we shall see in the primitive man a creature and a power worthy to issue from the immediate God, though committed to nature and progress for his destined perfections.

Another synthesis effected by Swedenborg is that of poetry with reason and science. Never were things more separate than these for the last thousand years. It has been a disastrous quarrel for both parties, but especially for science. Poetry has that in it which can stand by itself; of native right, it takes the milk and honey of every land, and solidly appropriates the pictures and fruits of never-failing nature. Yet apart from knowledge, it is a savage maiden, beautiful only as the landscape, whereas its proper loveliness is of the stars and the skies. Moreover in the wild state it feeds upon terrors as well as delights, upon good and evil alike, upon the monstrous equally with the divine, until its food governs its inspirations, and the bard becomes a charmer instead of a prophet. The science of correspondences puts the truth of nature and revelation into it, and sends an adequate criticism

abroad with it in its wildest flights. The poet may be doubly rapt when the muse is sailing with creation. He is never so safe or so wildly joyous as when in the convoy of the heavens. Imagination is never so tasked as when it has to follow its Maker. Subtlety, novelty, freedom, frenzy are all too little nimble to keep pace with that infinite wisdom whose sport and play is the world. Poetry by gaining a science of the real, enters upon the only space where there is no limit, but where imagination may tire its nervous wing, yet sleep for refreshment when it will upon the humblest truths. The science which emancipates poetry, is none other than that of harmony, which we call, after Swedenborg, the science of correspondences.

Science too has everything to gain from its union through the same medium with poetry. Hitherto the literary class, representing the beauty of knowledge, have been unacquainted with the scientific, contending for its severer truth. Science has suffered from the exclusion. Poetry has its admitted aristocracy—names for all climates, ages and sexes: Homer, Shakespeare, and the like. Science has no names to match them. The art of understanding the world has enlisted none of the genius that has eagerly run towards adorning life with song and beauty. The structure of *Iliads* and *Hamlets* is more divine than any structure of the universe that has been shewn by Newton or Laplace. This is because poetry has not become the soul of science, which in truth it should be. Whatever grasp has been yet attained by scientific principles, has issued from the imagination as a force; from some leak of poetry that has run into science: we ought then to open a ship canal between the two through this great middle science of harmonies. Never till then can there be a science of fire and beauty, and so long as this is wanting, science is deprived of one clear half of its dominions. Nay, until then she is

not in possession of one single complete fact, because everything in creation has its own peculiar glory; has with it everlasting doors which can be lifted up.

The works of Swedenborg proclaim this marriage of the rational with the imaginative powers. They are the first fruits of it. He shews by a series of wonderful examples that the highest imaginations are the merest scientific truths. We could expect no other. It seems eminently reasonable that the human powers at their full stretch and in their lustiest life, should touch the facts that the living God has made, more nearly and really than crawling and commonplace sensualism can. If you want to understand a beetle, look at it with all imagination through the glass of the universe; translate it into a mineral, into a vegetable, and into a man; run it along its own line of genera and species, and let it catch illumination from them all; and when you have enlarged it from this associated empire, its atomic theory will be palpable and distinct; and every habit, limb and entrail will be a self-evident proposition. At any rate the whole world will stand up for it. Creation itself, in this science of correspondences, is the method of study. The order of things gives the terms of the mighty syllogism. The four seasons are laws of thought that apply to everything; spring, summer, autumn and winter are one formula that dissects it for you. A stone or a man put fairly through their logic buds, blossoms, fruits and winters. The mineral, the vegetable and the animal are another of these formulas. Using them so, they unlock another cabinet of truths in everything, for everything contains them. The bones, for example, are the mineral man; the organs are the vegetable; the nerves and the muscles are the animal; the lungs the atmospheric; and the brains are the solar; and so forth. These it is true are analogies, and not correspondences, but analogies are the direct offspring of correspondences. The scientific

world knows that truths of this kind have already made natural history into a more living science; and we advertise them that more potential harmonies still lie in that science of correspondences which Swedenborg supplied; and whose leading function it is, to extend analogies from the natural to the spiritual, and to bring the light of a Personal Deity working through all nature to a personal spirit in man, to bear upon every form which variegates and constitutes the world.

Swedenborg's inseparable life and doctrine are then a new conjugal force introduced into experience, recalling to mind his own prediction, that marriage will be the restorer of the ages, and will lead down to the earth a still youngest child of God, or a new Celestial Church. We have seen that already a grand reconciliation is prepared. Through death an arrow of light is shot, and it quits the tomb, and stands as the open gate between two worlds of life. The letter of the Word has audibly communed with the spirit, and man, in the twain voices, hears the harmonies of God. The Bible has done what no book could do for it, namely, proved its own divinity. The marriage of the soul and the body has been solemnized in the conscious spirit; human reason has become the mean of a supernatural revelation; the senses and the soul have been at one in a soul with spiritual senses; and a mortal has entered the spiritual world,—has seen it by doctrine, and understood it by sight. There is no apparent contrariety so great but may henceforth be overcome. Orthodoxy and oddity, reason and mystery, have met without confusion, and have kissed each other in the streets. The eldest religions have been placed at the feet of the youngest. Science and superstition, philosophy and reality, the golden age and the iron, and many other natures seemingly as distant, have been shewn the way of peace by the mission of Swedenborg; and more is yet to hope. It remains, after this recapitulation, to shew, in a few

words, that each existing sphere already contained within itself a longing and an earnest of the atonement which is thus individually begun, and which the human race must carry forward.

But first we will set before the reader one topic of importance in regard to Swedenborg, we mean, his often alleged mysticism. He is called a mystic by some, because he speaks of things of the other world, which would be a reason, were it valid, for calling God and the angels mystics. The phrase is occasionally founded also upon his interpretation of the Scripture according to another sense than that discoverable from the letter. But here again, if the letter speaks to one set of faculties, and the spirit to another, and if both discourses are distinct and divine, and mutually harmonic, there is no mysticism, but mere reality. Swedenborg is the only theologian who is not mystical, the only one who craves plain experience for every sphere, the only one who insists that words shall answer to outward facts, whether in this world or the next. There is nothing more mystical in the sight of an angel, or of God Himself, than in the sight of any object of nature; nor are the inductions founded upon either sight to be called mystical, if those based upon the other are scientific. It would be mystical if the sight were not sight, but some philosophical intuition; but if good eyes are the seers, it is no matter whether their optic nerves are of spiritual flesh-glass, or of natural,—there is no mystery in the case. This is a view which must commend Swedenborg to the countrymen of Bacon and Locke, for so practically does he assent to the inductive plan, as to extend its sphere to the highest of beings; regarding God Himself as unknowable unless He shews Himself in experience and history; for our Saviour's life upon earth is the base of theology, because it is the natural manifestation of God, and involves the natural history of God. Without this base of divine facts, Deity might have

been the God of the soul, but never the God of the integral sciences, which are one new kingdom that will command the earth. And so also without experiment of the spiritual world, the sciences must have been closed at the top, whereas that experiment carries them up through a tangible heaven to the same God who appeared in history, and who is the Alpha and Omega of knowledge. It puts us out of patience to hear the enterprising traveller to a far country termed a mystic, for giving a plain account of things heard and seen, while Grub-street philosophers, who never stir from their tripod stools, and make heavens out of their own heads, claim the whole of daylight for themselves, and even talk of their spiritual experiences, meaning only their sedentary straining to find out facts without the trouble of going to them.

We therefore now study the science of God, because Jesus Christ has lived upon the earth, and Jesus Christ is God; we study the spiritual world, because one of us has been there, and reported it; and we study the natural world, because it is given to us, and our senses are given to it, in short, because we did not make it, but it is a divine fact. Whatever we have made out of ourselves, we do not study, which is a sufficient demolition of subjective knowledge. Thus from the spheres a blackness is departing. Mystery, the mother of the abominations and harlots of the earth, is unrolling from theology, philosophy and science; and soon the practical, the only sublime, will be all in all. For time will not wait long, after marrying the mind to experience, before the importance of daily life will not only suggest but allow, or disallow, every theory, upon whatever subject put forth.

And to revert to the fact that the old world contains a promise of the opening Swedenborg commenced, a slight survey proves it. The lowest *experience* of all time is rife in spiritual intercourse already; man believes it in his fears and hopes, even where his

education is against it; almost every family has its legends, and nothing but the wanting courage to divulge them keeps back this supernaturalism from forming a library of itself. Yea, and every mourner by a freshly-opened grave, yearns with untameable love towards departed friends, and bespeaks them, while the genius of grief is on him, as persons of real and presentable stuff. At such a clever time, burial services are but the background on which the heart delineates its native skies. This is the sense of universal mankind.

Science, too, is infected with these vulgar apprehensions; it cannot shake them off, though it cannot adopt them. What would it not give to be rid of mesmerism, or even of magic and astrology, which it has never known how to exterminate? This is hopeless now. These griffins of knowledge have bitten into its substance, and must either become sciences, or science dies of them. The positive school is precisely that which can least resist the invasion of supernaturalism. Many materialists already have fallen before it, and sunk, as might be expected, into a peculiar unreasoning superstition. Nothing can save them but attention to spiritual experiences. Add to which, that the scientific men, with their deep breaths and fixed objects, are taking the path to seership in their own bodies; they are running after Swedenborg, and will ere long breathe in the same place as he; for science itself is one appointed Seer of the Future.

"Old experience doth attain
To something of prophetic strain."

Again, if we turn to the *arts*, electric telegraphs make spiritual presence between distant places: London and Edinburgh commune in spaceless conversations. Another medium, glowing hotter with world-friendships, will give mutual sight to the ends of the earth. Only sink into the air-mine of community, and India and England shall be permanent

natural apparitions to each other. The mirage is a true sign-post of this consummation. Distance is dying, and will be only represented in the altitude of the human perceptions. Magnetism itself, in its instant rounds, derides and despises it; the very stones appear to each other by its spiritual communications; and shall men, who are one in a nobler magnetism, be reproved by the friendships of the ground?

As for reason, and *philosophy*, its representative, it is an ambidextrous power, and shifts either way at the bidding of experience. Sound reason is affirmative already, being the kindest of the scientific powers; but metaphysical reason also turns to the rising sun, and will give supernaturalism an exaggerated truth, when it comes as current coin from the sciences. If there is little to hope from this philosophy, there is nothing to fear, for it is always the wind of a more real power, the slave of sterner faculties than its own.

Turn we again to *poetry*, where indeed the ground is ready, and samples of the tillage are native to the soil. Nothing but the greatest misfortune has kept the poets from Swedenborg and the normal spiritual world. This man is the luminous pier of all the bards that have arched the ages with their rainbows. As a recent writer says, "All the great minds of the world are confluent towards Swedenborg." From blind Mæonides through blind Milton, the last span of double-sighted poesy reposes upon Swedenborg. Not one of the great ones but has longed to see his day; not one but has visited the spirit world as the theme of themes and the song of songs for the progeny of Adam. This was the end of the earliest voyages, and the last heroism of the ancient heroes. For this Ulysses, emancipated from Circe, after so many mortal wanderings, visited the shadowland of those dim times, where yet immortal justice reigned,

and gathered the perpetuation of human passions in the stern gait of Ajax, and from sorrowful words from the great Achilles. For this he brought back the hieroglyphics of the spirit, in the waters of Tantalus, the wheel of Ixion, and the sieve of the Danaidæ. For this Æneas, Sybil-instructed, descended to Avernus, and through the land beyond sleep and death, still found imperishable mankind, and present with his ancestral spirits in their tide of prophecy, beheld the line of Roman glories issuing from the closed race of Troy. Oh! depth and breadth and length unending of the life of our forefathers! From Virgil to Dante the arch of light again sits upon the spiritual world; earth has no top but the poet-seer on which the eternal curve will lean. The Christian Hades vaults back to the heathen through the stern Italian song; Dante and Virgil are fellow-travellers, all but through heaven where Christ alone can reign. From Dante to Shakespeare and to Milton is the next gird of the baser flood. In Macbeth and Hamlet, the poet of civilization links the worlds afresh, by the introduction of an infernal band of ambition in the one case, by a reappearance of the dead in the other; if nothing more, he gives a mighty vote for the supernatural life. The *Paradise Lost* is all seership; imagination shews here again that there is no play room for the highest efforts but the spiritual world. The personages, professedly superhuman, are human after all. Milton, who stamped the traditions of his church with the goldmark of his own genius, and who proves how much can be attempted, and how little can be done with the Protestant imagination, at all events completed a poetic cycle of affirmations of the spiritual world. Not one high tuneful voice is absent from our list; the "morning stars of song" are strictly choral there. The lower world, well pleased, sees them all attempt what Swedenborg accomplished. Yet while he mounts above them, it is not by a

greater genius, but by finer harmony of character and circumstance with God, leading to an appreciation by the humblest of realms unascended by song, and to a conjunction of this world's business with similar but sublimer industry in the spiritual heavens.

For *politics* and *morals* are penetrated by the same spirit. 'The associative temper of the epoch runs molten from that other world where the union of the race is closer knit than on this disunited earth. The spirit of work lifting the arm with strokes incessant as the steam-engine's, lives from a faith in work as the last comfort of mankind; it longs for a heart of work in Swedenborg's revelations; it desires to be certified that industry is divine and immortal; that the week days preponderate in heaven; that beyond the grave the useless classes are vile; that the angels, like good artizans, eat because they labour. Luxurious ease, bodiless cherubs, sky floatings, everlasting prayers or anthems, are an offence to the great God of the six days' work, and Swedenborg, a working man, has brought us the tidings. The horny hand of the day springs opening to the messenger.

There is however a Sabbath in both the worlds—a day with a sacred number—a workday of the religions. And does not *religion* coalesce with Swedenborg's informations? I marvel how any Christian man can deride revelations in the abstract; how he can deem that the day of wonders is past, unless God be past; how he dares use phrases against Swedenborg, which applied more widely would shatter his Bible from his hands. Let infidelity be consistent in tearing away all revelations, let it number and compaginate the graveyards of nature, and assiduously bind up the book of death; but let Christianity be equally true to itself, and look for Christianity everywhere, for life and revelations everywhere. Even heathenism glitters with a starlight of immortality. But immortality and the spirit land lie in golden lakes in the Word of God:

they wait to be explored by human adventure and experience. The Prophets and the Apocalypse are proof and counterproof to Swedenborg's narrations: the visions of John walk the waters with his; the nineteenth century begins in him to reap the harvest of supernatural intercourse of which Christ Himself sowed the seeds in the first. All religion in its spiritual day, in its own archives, and in its first founders, stretches out the free right hand of fellowship to this last Seer. And here we conclude our examination of witnesses to the character of Swedenborg's revelations.

Are they final, or do we look for another? A rational revelation, we reply, so far as human intuition is concerned, is the first step to a more rational: a religion given to the human mind is a progressive religion. A seer whose intellect is in his eyes may be succeeded by other seers with better optics because greater intellects. Sights more improbable ever await to be uncurtained. It is God's truth that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive those things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. This truth is always ascending to God who gave it. The better heaven is known, the more it recedes into that uncomprehended love. The seeing eye disturbs not the unseen: the hearing ear lists not the song of songs; the heart's conceptions are beggared by the revelations of simple truth as soon as they are given; and man in the bosom of revelation itself must wait upon his God.

APPENDIX.

CHEMICAL ARCHITECTURE.

(Note to Page 25.)

AMONG the characteristics of Swedenborg's mind, must be reckoned his fixed belief in form, and ultimately in shape, as the vehicle and recipient of all properties and qualities in all worlds and creations. At this period of his life, he was busied in deriving the chemical properties of acids, earths, etc., from their definite forms; the latter being impelled by the ether, or "subtle matter," which is, or arises from, the *primum mobile* of the natural universe. It is a hypothesis of attractions and affinities. He conceived that all manifested properties originate dynamically and mechanically from natural forms; and that the coaptation or coupling of these forms produces new chemical substances with new names and properties. The individualities, or, if we may use the metaphor, the separate personalities and sexes of substances, in distinction from the present and past chemistry of their volumes and masses, are in question here. No such detailed attempt at reading the pieces of chemic nature had been made before.

Swedenborg did not rest here, but proceeded later on to pose the mineral as the basic salt of the blood-life; the blood-globules and their serum standing upon it as the whole man in his flexible life stands upon the earth. This subject is treated in great order and detail in Swedenborg's *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, in the part on the Composition and

Essence of the Blood: where he shows that saline particles of *many kinds* are built definitely, shape-wise, into the architecture of the blood-globule; and that according to the perfection of the resultant forms, the health of the blood is perfect, and according to the kinds of formal imperfection or hiatus, it is acid, heavy, unsuited to circulation: and so forth. These thoughts about cellular and globular organization are always hovering in the scientific air, and can hardly alight upon any other ground than some intuition of atomic forms. The tendency to this is especially marked in a work by Dr. W. H. Schüssler of Oldenburg, on Histology and Cellular Pathology; a compact and valuable little medical system of mineral hygiene. According to him also these cell-salts are architectonic in tissues and charged with supporting the structures of the living fluids. There is indeed no copulative location of the various salts in Schüssler's upbuilding; yet his theory blindly touches Swedenborg's view. "A sanguineous globule," says Swedenborg, "is in a manner a merely saline body; for the spirituous fluid only fills the little sinuses and hollows of its saline parts. . . . In the salts there is gravity, in the spirituous fluid, levity; or a most active force corresponding with gravity." Although Swedenborg was not acquainted with the chemical exactitudes of this day, or with the fine nomenclature expressing the natures of a thousand new compounds and simples, yet doctrinally his chemical thoughts have not been approached in the light they shed upon the possible forms of atoms, and on the structure and architecture of fluids: for fluids are spaced solids of precise forms, with freedom of movement between them. This is a new field; and Swedenborg stands to it as Dalton stands to the theory of atoms regarded as vague volumes.

THE FIRMAMENT OF THE NATURAL UNIVERSES.

(Note to Page 65.)

WHILE yet dwelling on this part of Swedenborg's Life, we adduce from *The Worship and Love of God* a note on the Firmament of the Natural Universes, containing also his perceptions at this time of the divine ladder of Forms and their Forces. He says :—

"This form, the Firmament, which the stars with their universes determine or combine to produce by their mutual interlockings, and which therefore is called the celestial form, exceeds all recognition and acknowledgment by eyes set fast in the globe of this earth if *their* vision alone is attended to,—as being the most perfect of all the forms of the world: for the eye does not appreciate the depths of distance of star from star, but assumes the stars as lying side by side in the visible expanse: to it they lie in no order, an assemblage of confusions. And yet that the Form which results from the linked series of all the Starry Universes is the model and ideal of all forms, is plain from this, that it serves as a Firmament to the whole heaven; and from this, that the primal substances of the world, and the primal forces of the world's nature, have called these universes into existence; and that nothing short of consummate perfection evolves from the bosom and coöperation of substances and forces such as these. And the same conclusion is reached by the stars keeping their relative distances from each other for countless ages without the least swerving of their lines. Such Forms are self-defended by their own proper virtue: they breathe perpetuity and infinity. And yet the being and the nature of them lie beyond our comprehension unless we set them in the mirrors of the lower and lowest forms which have entered our knowledge from the objects of ordinary

vision; and also unless we continually strip these latter forms of the imperfections under which they labour. Now, therefore, let us survey these forms in their several instances. The lowest Form, the proper form of the substances of the ground, is that which is determined by mere angular and plane subjects of whatever figure provided they have combined in any form: this then is denominated THE ANGULAR FORM, and is the proper object of our geometry. Empowered by this Form, we can now contemplate the Form next above it, the perpetual-angular, which is the same as THE CIRCULAR OR SPHERICAL FORM. This is more perfect than the last, in that its periphery is in a manner a perpetual plane, or infinite angle, because it is quite devoid of planes and angles: and, therefore, it is the measure of all angular forms; angles and planes being in fact measured by sections and sines of the circle. Here then we see that a somewhat of infinity and perpetuity has got into this form which did not exist in the form that preceded it; a circular gyre to which end and beginning are unassignable. Again, in the circular or spherical we are empowered to contemplate a form higher still; a form which merits the name of the perpetual-circular, or simply, of the SPIRAL FORM. This once more has gained an element of perpetuity or infinity which does not lie in its predecessor: its diameters do not end or terminate in a particular centre, and are not simple lines; but they terminate in some periphery of a circle or surface of a sphere which serves in the place of a centre; and which possesses diameters inflected in their own special curves. Hereby this form is the measure of the circular form, and of all circular forms, just as the circular is the measure of angular forms. In this spiral Form we may gain the view of a form higher still, and which must be called the perpetual-spiral or the VORTICAL FORM; in which once again a new perpetuity or infinity is added to which the spiral is a

stranger. The spiral indeed referred itself to the circle as a kind of infinite centre ; and by it, through its diameters, to a fixed centre as its end or terminus. The Vortical Form on the other hand looks back to the spiral as a centre through perpetual-circular lines. This form declares itself cardinally in the phenomena of magnetism. For the same reason that rules in the lower forms, the Vortical Form is the measure of the spiral. In the mirror of this vortical at last we can descry the supreme form of nature, the perpetual-vortical, which is identical with the CELESTIAL FORM, in which a host of limits—each limit an imperfection—is brushed aside, and a greater host of perpetuities or infinities is taken on. By reason of which nature, this Form is the Measure of the vortical form, and therefore the model and the ideal of all the lower forms ; from which as their principle or form of forms the rest descend and are born. In this Form the following faculties and virtues occur. One thing respects the other as itself, and each breathes nothing else than the general solidity and concord. There is indeed no fixed centre in it ; but every several point is an answerable centre ; and thereby each elect and exact determination of the form is a combined result of mere centres or representations of a Centre. This being the case, proper and common take new conditions ; no ownship is recognized save as it flows out of the commune,—that is, out of all the centres which together produce the commune,—to itself as a similar centre ; and flows back again in an orb to the common weal which is the commune. This must needs at first sight appear strange, because it is fetched from afar, from realms remote indeed from outward sight : and yet that the matter stands thus, comes plainly out in all phenomena when they are tracked to causes and principles ; comes indeed we say to light. Above all it shines forth in the living body of man, where a corresponding disposition of

parts is the rule. For every part in that domain considers itself as in the centre, although relatively to the determinations of other parts, near and remote, it is visibly constituted in some periphery, diameter, or axis. A more ocular exemplification still is exhibited in the ether in its modification by radiant light."

So far Swedenborg in a somewhat free translation. In this series of perceptions, he seems to be standing with Kircher and Newton among the stars, and in their Form, and with Christ not far off. Gravitation has put off its leaden shoes, and is sandalled with gold. The thinnest veil covers the mathematics, and organization first shows through it, and then the Form of the Divine Intelligence and Love. If it be mathematical, and we have no reason to doubt it, there is a promise here of an august synthesis between the achievements of the finest speculative faculties of the understanding, and the moral and spiritual law as Revelation announces it. A Personal God-man is close behind the manifestation of this great Unself of the world. One understands that if what Carlyle meant by his often repeated phrase, "the laws of this universe," are of such constitution, they are intolerant indeed of the baser Selfhood, and tend to grind it into destruction. The reader who turns to Swedenborg will find throughout all his later works that the slenderest covering everywhere separates the truths they contain, whether physiological, or physical, from spiritual application. Whatever the theme, they are treatises on the Spirit and the Soul of Mankind ; on good and evil : and "perpetuity and infinity," stage after stage, can be easily discerned in them.

TABLET TO SWEDENBORG'S MEMORY.

(Note to Page 233.)

SINCE this sketch was published, a tablet has been placed in the Swedish church in Ratcliff Highway, commemorating the sepulture of Swedenborg. This was done in 1857, the first centenary after the Last Judgment; and, if I recollect aright, the Rev. Augustus Clissold defrayed the cost of it.

The inscription on the tablet is as follows:—

"In the vault beneath this Church are deposited the remains of Emanuel Swedenborg, the Swedish Philosopher and Theologian. He was born in Stockholm, January 29, 1688, and died in London, March 29, 1772. This Tablet is erected by one of his English Admirers in the year 1857. By special permission."

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